NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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 - ► A New Bill of Rights?

Pforzheimer, League Treasurer, Dies

National Municipal Review

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

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News of the League

Pforzheimer, League Treasurer, Dies

Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer of the National Municipal League for more than 35 years, died April 4 in New York.

Described in the Herald Statesman, Yonkers, New York, as "a remarkable American — a fine far-seeing, actively devoted citizen of the whole country and of the community in which he lived," Mr. Pforzheimer was a noted investment banker, civic leader and bibliophile.

He was elected treasurer of the League at a meeting of the Council on December 12, 1921, and re-elected annually since then. He took a leading part in the development of the League's program of model fiscal legislation to encourage sound financial management and expenditure controls.

In 1954, when the League acquired its own building, it was named for Mr. Pforzheimer in recognition of his long service to the League and of the fact that, as past President George Gallup said, he exemplified "the kind of intelligent, unselfish citizen leadership which the League tries to encourage."

Mr. Pforzheimer founded and was first chairman of the Town of Harrison Finance and Advisory Committee. He resigned as chairman of the Westghester County Emergency Work Bureau in 1935 to become chairman of the Westchester County Commission on Government which brought about the adoption of that county's single executive home rule charter.

He served as chairman of the Westchester County Planning Commission



Carl H. Pforzheimer

from 1939 to 1942, as treasurer and chairman of the finance committee of the Westchester Council of Social Agencies, and was connected with various health and welfare groups.

Active also in the city of New York, Mr. Pforzheimer was vice chairman of the Institute of Public Administration, a trustee of the New York Public Library, and chairman of the board of the Horace Mann School, which last December dedicated Pforzheimer Hall on its campus.

A collector of rare books and manuscripts, Mr. Pforzheimer was said to have possessed the greatest private collection of this kind in the United States. In 1940 he published a three-volume

(Continued on next page)

2 Regional Vice Presidents Elected

Two additional regional vice presidents were elected April 8 by the League's executive committee.

They are Charles R. Diebold, president, The Western Savings Bank of





Charles R. Diebold

Byron M. Edwards

Buffalo, New York, and Byron M. Edwards, chairman of the board of The South Carolina National Bank of Charleston.

Mr. Diebold, in addition to his bank presidency, is a partner in the law firm of Diebold and Millonzi; a director and vice president of New Dickenson Mines, Ltd., Canada; a member of the New York State Banking Board; a director of Manufacturers & Traders Trust Company, Buffalo; Savings Banks Trust Company; Institutional Investors Mutual Fund. Inc.: Research Foundation, State University of New York; New York State Business Development Cor-Buffalo Better poration: Bureau and Mortgage Facilities Corporation. He is also a trustee of Randolph Children's Home.

Mr. Edwards, who began his career as a telegraph operator and station agent at seventeen, worked his way up to general manager of the Bennettsville & Cheraw Railroad six years later, turning to banking after another seven years.

He served as assistant to the Secretary of the U.S. Treasury in 1941 and as consultant until 1946. He is a director of the South Carolina Foundation of Independent Colleges, Inc., the Southern States Industrial Council, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Foundation and a dozen business enterprises.

Mr. Edwards also is a member of the boards of the Endowment Fund of the American National Red Cross, Furman University, Benedict College, Providence Hospital and National Board of Field Advisors for Region V, Small Business Administration. He was named to the "South's Hall of Fame for the Living" in 1954 and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of South Carolina in 1953.

Pforzheimer Dies

(Continued from previous page)

catalog of "The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library of English Literature 1475-1700."

Starting as a clerk in Wall Street, Mr. Pforzheimer at the age of 23 established his own company and pioneered in the trading of Standard Oil Company shares after the dissolution of the old Standard Oil concern in 1911. He was a charter member of the Curb Exchange, now the American Stock Exchange. His firm also belongs to the New York Stock Exchange.

He was president of the Petroleum and Trading Corporation and of the Carl and Lily Pforzheimer Foundation. Financial support from the Foundation was an important factor in the acquisition of the League's building.

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Carl H. Pforzheimer

THE sentiments of the officers, Council, staff and the many members who had become acquainted with the National Municipal League's beloved treasurer during the last 35 years were well and simply expressed in a letter received from Lawson Purdy, who, at 94, is the League's oldest former president. Mr. Purdy wrote:

"I am grieved by the death of that generous, noble gentleman, Carl Pforzheimer. We shall not see his like again."

Civic Teamwork

SPEAKING at the 1955 National Conference on Government in Seattle, Frank C. Moore laid down a fundamental prerequisite for the solution of metropolitan problems, "We must abandon the fractional approaches of the past and bring about cooperation on a broad basis. We must pool and utilize our vast resources of knowledge, experience, energies and support."

The importance of this prerequisite had long been recognized by the civic forces in the Seattle area. By 1955 they were well on the way toward meeting its requirements. In the two years since, a level of cooperation has been achieved in facing Seattle's metropolitan problems that probably has never been reached in any other American metropolitan community. The recent passage of

the Metropolitan Council Act by the Washington legislature provides Seattle and the other metropolitan areas of the state with the opportunity to adopt a form of area-wide government sufficiently flexible to meet the changing demands of time and space in a dynamic society.

Seattle's problems are not unique. They are found in every metropolitan area. The capacity of the people of Seattle to function as a civic team in the face of these problems is unique and provides a pattern which might well be duplicated in urban communities generally. Citizens, public officials and technicians have demonstrated the value of moving in unison. They have shown that when citizens are organized to fulfill a constructive role in the community they provide a vast resource "of knowl-

edge, experience, energies and support" which complements that of official agencies and academic and other research institutions. Organized citizens must maintain a positive posture, looking to the community's future, not simply as watchdogs and critics of those in power.

This constructive role for organized citizens has long been played by the Municipal League of Seattle and King County. Experience in facing up to many problems had taught the civic leaders in Seattle the necessity of a positive approach. Lessons had been learned from both success and failure. The unsuccessful movement to adopt a home rule charter for King County in 1952 had revealed some of the complexities involved in achieving governmental reorganization in a growing urban area.

It was quite appropriate that in Seattle the effort directed toward finding solutions to metropolitan problems should begin with an inquiry undertaken by a league committee. It required patience, hard work and devotion to the community's future potential for the citizens who made up the Metropolitan Problems Committee to spend countless hours of volunteer time for a period of more than three years studying the community in all of its facets.

They were operating within the

framework of a well established citizen association. The succession of outstanding community leaders who have served as its officers has given it strength and prestige. Its experienced staff has given it the continuity necessary for sustained civic action.

This unofficial committee realized, however, that it could proceed just so far alone.

The wisdom and resourcefulness of Seattle's civic leadership in achieving a normally improbable success were demonstrated by the appointment of the Citizens' Advisory Committee jointly by the mayor of Seattle and the King County Board of Commissioners, which drafted the bill, by enlisting the technical assistance of the University of Washington, by the support from two governors and endorsement by major governmental jurisdictions in the Seattle area and by the bi-partisan sponsorship of the bill, as described in Don Becker's article on page 230.

The same civic teamwork continues as the Seattle area prepares to put into effect the provisions of the Metropolitan Council Act and demonstrate the capacity of citizens and officials to join forces and adapt the instrumentalities of local government to the requirements of the urban age.

Adopt Area-wide Plan

Washington legislature opens way for Seattle region to provide services through a metropolitan council.

By DON BECKER*

THE 1957 legislature of the state of Washington has enacted a significant measure for the solution of metropolitan area problems. The Metropolitan Council Act (S.B. 136), signed by Governor Albert Rosellini on March 22, applies to all metropolitan areas in the state.

The act will enable the voters of the Greater Seattle area to form a new municipal entity with power to make a coordinated attack upon problems which have defied solution by 150 separate local governments.

The proposed metropolitan council will consist of representatives selected from elected officials of the existing cities, towns and counties within the area in proportion to population, with a chairman selected by the members of the council. The council may be charged with the responsibility of carrying out any one or more of the metropolitan functions authorized in the act. The voters will determine the functions to be performed at the election authorizing creation of the council. The six possible functions are sewage disposal, water supply, mass transportation, garbage disposal, parks and parkways and comprehensive planning.

If the Seattle Citizens' Advisory Committee which prepared the act and promoted its passage can continue to meet a rigorous time-table during the next few months, an election for creation of the new corporation can be held in the fall of 1957.

Perhaps the most astonishing thing about the plan is that only four years elapsed from the time the problem was first formally recognized to adoption of legislation authorizing the creation of a new metropolitan entity for its solution.

Three factors made these fast-moving developments possible. The first was the threatened pollution of beautiful 21-mile-long Lake Washington in the heart of the Seattle metropolitan area. The second was a devoted group of citizens who dedicated themselves to the solution of the area's major problems. The third was a brilliant young attorney, James R. Ellis.

Chronologically, this was the sequence of events:

1952—The Washington Pollution Control Commission reported Lake Washington was in danger of being lost as a community asset because of sewage pollution.

1953—Ellis, then legal consultant to the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, delivered an ad-

^{*} Mr. Becker is associate editor of the Seattle Argus and a member of the Seattle-King County Citizens' Advisory Committee which sponsored the Metropolitan Council Act. He was formerly director of public relations of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County and editor of its Municipal News and has also served as sports editor of the Tri-City Herald of Kennewick, Washington.

dress to league members in which he set forth seven possible forms of unified government which might be capable of solving metropolitan problems such as sewage disposal.

1954—The board of trustees of the Municipal League formed a "blue ribbon" committee which studied the problem for more than a year and produced a provocative analysis of the problems confronting the area entitled The Shape We're In.

1955—Following another report by the Pollution Control Commission, the daily press focused public attention on the probable loss of Lake Washington. The time was ripe for a plan and a second report was issued by the Municipal League, *The Shape* of *Things to Come*, outlining a proposed solution.

Committees Appointed

1956—Governor Arthur B. Langley appointed the Governor's Committee on Metropolitan Problems.

1956—Mayor Gordon S. Clinton of Seattle and the board of commissioners of King County jointly appointed a 48-member citizens' committee to study the problem and to prepare and secure the passage of the necessary enabling legislation.

1957—Two weeks after the legislature convened for its biennial session, the metropolitan council bill was introduced. It passed the House of Representatives on the last day of the session with one vote to spare.

The solution provided by the 1957 legislature reflected the consensus of the Seattle metropolitan area leadership after an examination of a number of possible solutions. All the principal alternatives were consid-

ered carefully in the light of local geographical, political and legal conditions.

The direct annexation of substantially all the metropolitan area by the city of Seattle was considered inadvisable because the financial burden on the city would be too great, and neither the central city nor the suburban communities were willing to accept complete integration.

The performance of metropolitan functions and services by the city of Seattle throughout the area outside the city limits was considered to violate the fundamental principle that the government of an area should be representative of the people in the area governed.

The creation of a series of metropolitan special districts, each to handle a particular function, was rejected as further complicating the difficulties of intergovernmental coordination and because each of the functions which needed to be performed on a metropolitan basis was found to be directly related to the others. Establishing special districts for each function would impede a sound over-all solution.

Consolidation of city and county governments within the metropolitan area and the performance of all governmental functions within that area by the consolidated government was considered impractical under the constitutional restrictions of the state because the remainder of the county would be left without financial support if the metropolitan area were separated from the rural area.

Expansion of county government to enable it to give city-type services within the metropolitan area was not adequate in the Seattle area because the area covers parts of two counties.

Use of cooperative contracts based on voluntary agreements had been tried diligently for two years and failed because one community could prevent effective action by refusing to agree to remove its sewage from Lake Washington.

The Metropolitan Council Plan was selected over other possible alternatives because it afforded representation to all major portions of the metropolitan area, because it was capable of encompassing the entire metropolitan area, and because it provided the means of performing area-wide functions while leaving local functions to be performed by cities and towns and traditional county-wide functions to be performed by the counties.

The act has great flexibility. The people of each metropolitan area in the state will determine for themselves which of the metropolitan functions named in the act shall be performed by their metropolitan council (metro). Thus, the people of one area could authorize creation of a metropolitan council to act only in the field of sewage disposal or only in the field of water supply, while another could authorize its council to perform all six metropolitan functions. After forming metro for one function, they could by subsequent elections add other functions as the need arose.

The metropolitan council would perform only the metropolitan phases of the particular functions involved. For example, in sewage disposal, metro would build the major interceptor sewers and treatment plants while cities, towns and sewer districts would continue to construct, operate and collect charges for their own local sewer collection facilities. Metro would be permitted to construct local sewer facilities only after receiving the consent of the city, town or district affected. Essentially, metro would be the "wholesaler" and individual cities and districts would be the "retailers" of these services.

The act provides that a comprehensive plan be prepared for each metropolitan function. This plan would provide for the future development of the entire area. Development of a coordinated sewage disposal plan is the only practical means of removing raw sewage and treatment plant affluent from Lake Washington, and similar area-wide planning for other functions is the only means of providing adequate facilities of a metropolitan nature at a reasonable cost.

Credit Due Many

Credit for each successful step that resulted in legislative enactment of the metropolitan council enabling act belongs to many individuals and organizations.

Following Ellis' outline of the problems and possible solutions, the Metropolitan Problems Committee of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County carried the brunt of the hard work load. Chairmen were John Blankinship in 1954 and C. Carey Donworth in 1955 and 1956. This group worked first in subcommittees along functional lines: One to study sewage disposal, drainage and water supply; a second to study traffic and transportation; and a third to study police and fire protection and miscellaneous subjects. City, county, state and special district officials were interviewed. Data was compiled and the provocative *Shape* reports were published and given widespread circulation.

When it became obvious that a considerable amount of research was needed to fill the gaps, the aid of the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services of the University of Washington was solicited. Ruth Ittner, in collaboration with Donald H. Webster, director of the bureau, and Ernest H. Campbell, Warren A. Bishop and Joshua H. Vogel, of the bureau staff, prepared a thorough, documented source book, Government in the Seattle Metropolitan Area. This report was invaluable to the citizens' committee in its work.

Act Follows Recommendations

The solution outlined in the second report of the Municipal League's committee presented the pattern which subsequently was followed in the Metropolitan Council Act. The League recognized, however, that a great deal of further study was necessary to prepare the required enabling legislation and urged that "a large number of community groups, civic organizations and government officials should participate in the preparation of such legislation."

When former Governor Arthur B. Langlie appointed a Metropolitan Problems Committee, statewide recognition of the problem was achieved. Harold S. Shefelman was named chairman.

This committee was instrumental

in securing a joint engineering survey of the metropolitan Seattle drainage area by the city, county and state and endorsed the principles upon which the metropolitan council proposal was based.

When Seattle's Mayor Gordon S. Clinton and the King County board of commissioners jointly appointed a 48-member Citizens' Advisory Committee, the importance of finding an adequate solution was officially recognized and given substantial leadership by the largest local units in the area. James R. Ellis was named committee chairman.

At first this committee spent half-days but, as the work progressed, it spent many complete days studying possible solutions. The report sub-committee, under the chairmanship of Alec Bayless, met daily for several weeks in Bayless' law office preparing basic recommendations. The drafting subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Albert A. King, met in the Ellis home every evening for many weeks.

The bill prepared by the Advisory Committee was introduced in January 1957 in the State Senate under the joint sponsorship of the Democratic and Republican leadership. The newly elected governor, Albert D. Rosellini placed the weight of his office behind the measure. It was passed by both houses and signed by the governor who vetoed specific clauses inserted by legislative amendments which would have narrowed the scope of the act.

Hundreds of man-hours of work all voluntarily contributed—went into the Metropolitan Council Act from its inception to approval by the legislature. As a result, actual cost in dollars was amazingly low—less than \$1,000—most of which was contributed by the Municipal League.

This high degree of cooperation by experts and non-experts accomplished two major points: (1) The final result reflected the thinking of a broad cross-section of the people who must live with the act providing a metropolitan council should it be approved at the special election. (2) A great many people representing virtually every major segment of those living in metropolitan Seattle have been educated to the problems confronting it. These people will be invaluable in combatting false propaganda as election time approaches.

If one were to look for the most significant factor that has enabled Seattle to reach the threshold of solving its "metropolitan problem" it is the enthusiastic spirit of community achievement evidenced by all those who took a part in the four years' work that preceded legislative approval of the act.

But enthusiasm and community spirit alone are not enough. Leader-

ship and creative thinking are also essential. These were provided particularly by Mr. Ellis, whose determination that a sound solution of Seattle's metropolitan problems could be found has been responsible in large measure for setting the tone of the entire effort.

Next Step

The next step for Seattle will be a decision as to the extent of the area to be encompassed in the new metropolitan municipal corporation and the functions which it will perform initially. The citizens' committee will be broadened to include 100 civic leaders and public officials from all parts of the area as a means of giving further support for the decisions reached by that group.

The metropolitan area leadership is confident that the possibilities for community development by areawide cooperation will stir the imagination of the people and translate legislative permission into civic accomplishment.¹

¹ For earlier reports on metropolitan studies in Seattle see the Review, June 1954, page 312; July 1955, page 381; September 1956, page 396; and February 1957, page 102.

Tulsa 'the Beautiful'

Young city, in vanguard of growing planting drive, finds its neighborliness produces civic leadership.

By DANIEL LONGWELL*

AMERICA is on a beautification crusade. The unsightly scars and utilitarian bleakness which in the past have blighted United States towns and cities in the wake of industrial expansion and the automobile are no longer accepted as the inevitable result of progress. Indeed, all across the land millions of dollars are being spent annually to make this country truly "America the Beautiful," and foremost among the movement's supporters is industry itself.

Since 1950 the volume of nursery and landscaping businesses has doubled-to \$750 million annually. The biggest increase has been in industrial landscaping, which tripled in demand in four years. But home owners, too, are planting more than ever before. The sale of flower seeds and plants has increased better than 50 per cent since 1950, and \$40 million each year is now being spent on lawn seed-twice as much as five years ago. Garden clubs are growing: the National Council of State Garden Clubs lists 385,000 members now in 45 states, most of them postwar; and up 10 per cent last year alone.

The modern garden center, first organized in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1930 to create "a more beautiful community," is also on the march. Intensive beautification projects are now under way in many United States cities, particularly in the south and southwest.

One of the cities working hardest at its beauty program is Tulsa, Oklahoma (population 185,000) which, although a growing industrial community, already calls itself "America's Most Beautiful City." This is a big claim, perhaps, but Tulsans have always had a crusading spirit about their city. And with beautification now a city-wide fervor, Tulsa seems to exemplify all the elements of the national effort.

Located on the Arkansas River at the foot of the Osage Hills, Tulsa enjoys a beautiful natural setting. There its clean skyline cuts the horizon and its spreading, tree-lined streets wind through well kept lawns and gardens. Tulsa is so young a city1 that it has few run-down sections; its light industries are fueled with gas and there is no smoke to darken the clear blue sky or begrime its modern buildings and thoroughfares. Even so, Tulsa streets are not only washed every night, the gutters are regularly scrubbed by hand.

^{*} Mr. Longwell was one of the founding editors of Life magazine and later chairman of its board of editors. He retired from New York City in 1954 and divides his time between writing and his interests in the American Federation of Arts, of which he is a past president, and the civic affairs of his own city, Neosho, Missouri.

Oklahoma as a state will be just 50 years old in November.

Entering Tulsa from its attractively landscaped airport, maintained by the city park department, one cannot but be impressed with its clean skyline cutting the horizon in the distance. Soon you are driving past a city firehouse decorated with flowers and shrubs, or you may pass the drive-in addition to the Fourth National Bank. Its plantings are a sight to behold at any season, but in the spring especially, when thousands come to view the bank's tulips. In the residential section you drive past well kept lawns and gardens and catch a glimpse of the municipal rose garden, which rosarians say is one of the best in the United States.

Tulsa is an acknowledged leader in industrial landscaping. A special city beautification committee of the chamber of commerce not only gives awards for industrial planting around existing buildings in the nine industrial districts, but seeks out incoming businesses and urges landscaping and beautification. The local Public Service Company has screened its seventeen transformer stations with evergreens. One service station had 1,000 floribunda rose bushes (each customer received a bloom) and a restaurant spent \$15,000 last year on decorative plantings. Utica Square, a landscaped shopping center, won the first national award ever given by the American Association of Nurserymen to a United States shopping center.

Tulsans boast that all the elements of weather, including the vast warm air from the Gulf of Mexico, meet just above the city so that the flowers and shrubs of the north, south and west can all flourish there. And thus far, thanks to far-sighted planning and despite the southwest's prolonged drought, fast-growing Tulsa has had plenty of water for irrigation.

Tulsa's leading architects and planners have published a master plan for a civic center with a coliseum, city and government offices, theaters, museums and underground parking. Most of all, however, Tulsa is a city of gardeners who are determined not only to make their own streets and homes beautiful but every facet of their city as well. Almost every garden club has a citybeautification project—the maintenance of a roadside park, for example, or the planting of a local schoolyard or the new Oklahoma State Highway Patrol headquarters. One club has planted the county farm as therapy for the old folks; another plans wheel-chair-high flower beds for the children's medical center so crippled children can work in them. The garden center, focus of all garden activity, was behind the drive that last year got 10,000 dogwood trees planted throughout the city.

City Finances Center

Tulsa is proud of its handsome garden center, the only one in the United States financed by a municipal bond issue. Purchased only two years ago, the center has 3,000 duespaying members and serves as the meeting place for the varied activities of some 140 garden clubs. And it isn't big enough—an \$85,000 addition is now being built by the city park board.

Garden club members keep the spacious rooms of the garden center busy all day and many evenings with special lectures and exhibits and with meetings of both the men's and women's garden clubs and their flower shows. In one month last year 4,000 people attended twelve meetings and nineteen flower shows at the center. Ansel Hull, one of Tulsa's five county agents, has an office there, too, and keeps regular office hours during which he is available for horticultural advice.

Most Tulsans take care of their own flowers. One outstanding garden is that of George Cunningham, general attorney for Shell Oil. "Eleven years ago," his wife says, "George didn't know a dandelion from a spirea, and now look . . . "

Since he is raising day lilies for the American Hemerocallis Society show in June, Cunningham has a few hundred on his half-acre lot, including some "guest plants" that growers sent him last year to mature for this year's exhibit. He also has over 200 azaleas in his yard, including thirteen varieties. There are camellia japonica and Chinese dogwood, as well, and mountain laurel, holly and yew. All plants are neatly labeled, a custom many Tulsa gardeners follow in their zeal for horticultural education.

The show—the flower show, that is—has become the big thing in Tulsa. The men's rose club show in particular and the gladiola and dahlia shows always attract city-wide attention. Although all garden center activities are considered good news stories in Tulsa, the papers, radio and TV give flower shows as much attention as they do local baseball.

Why is Tulsa so garden conscious? The most logical explanation, perhaps, is that Tulsa is a young city and youthful industries have been drawn to it—aviation, the sciences, skills allied to oil. The young scientists and technicians who move there from all over the United States can usually afford a little more land, a little better house, a hobby. Since many of the new housing developments are out on former ranches and treeless fields, planting becomes the popular thing.

Creates Civic Spirit

A young wife explains how a garden club grows: "We have these big backyards and no fences. We are all planting, and some of us get to talking about our garden problems over coffee in the patio. Someone suggests we start a garden club, so we do. We meet monthly at one another's homes—and finally we get so many members we can't all get in one house. So we help some of the newcomers form another club."

Many of these clubs have gay names like Hoe and Hope, Plan and Ponder, Petal Pushers and Yard Birds. They have their own flower shows in neighborhood homes, local churches and schools or at the garden center. And they tend not only to become the nucleus of civic drives in Tulsa, but also to assume neighborly duties far beyond gardening interests. Tulsa, as a result, is one of the most neighborly towns in the country. And that, in turn, is the source of the spirit of a town which proudly claims the title of "America's Most Beautiful." It is a spirit, certainly, which any U.S. town or city not already on the beautification bandwagon might well emulate.

A New Bill of Rights?

In accomplishing needed modernizing and rejuvenating of states, Graves sees need to drop antiquated rules.

By W. BROOKE GRAVES*

TOTHING in our constitutions, national or state, is more basic than the provisions designed to protect the rights of citizens. Traditionally, these bills of rights include provisions both substantive and procedural, designed to protect the individual from a possible invasion of his personal (civil) rights by public authority or, in the case of accused persons, from resort to irregularities of procedure, the quicker and the easier to obtain their conviction. If these guarantees are inadequate or ineffective, or cannot be enforced, one may conclude that the other provisions of the constitution are relatively unimportant. If there is no liberty, nothing else seems really to matter.

It is appropriate to take a new look at the bills of rights in our state constitutions and to see what the constitution-makers in the states, and in the territories as well, have been doing with them. There have been some serious attacks upon the civil rights of citizens during the last few years. Such attacks are not unusual, to be sure, in the strains that come

with war and reconstruction, but the question naturally arises as to how effective existing constitutional provisions are in the face of such attack and, secondly, how well our bills of rights are designed to protect citizens against invasions of their rights growing out of new or changing conditions in our economic and social life.

General Considerations

The provisions relating to established rights create relatively few problems. Are these provisions still applicable to modern conditions or have they become obsolete? If still applicable, are they adequate? There is nothing basically wrong with the provisions for the protection of personal and civil rights that have come down to us as a part of our heritage. These have proved their validity many times before and doubtless will continue to do so. The principles are sound and they are effective when needed, provided the public demands and officers of government have the courage to insist that they be observed.

But when one comes to newer rights and new problems, created amidst the great social and economic changes of our time, these provisions may not be enough. In many instances they are not applicable. Illustrative problems to be considered here include: the right to organize; protection against discrimination be-

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cause of race, creed, color or national origin; the use of wire-tapping as a means of collecting evidence in criminal cases. What provision should be made in the constitution for public education—in the bill of rights or elsewhere; for the protection of the public domain; for health and welfare services, the effective administration of which is now of such vital concern to all?

The Alaska Constitutional Convention of 1956, in its Report to the People of Alaska, put the matter this way:

Special point is made of rights that have become important in recent years: freedom from discrimination with respect to any civil or political right on account of race, color, creed or national origin; and the right "to fair and just treatment in the course of legislative and executive investigations."

Similarly, in the Notes and Comments on the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, (Washington, 1952), the same point of view is developed at somewhat greater length:

This bill of rights derives from two main sources: the traditional provisions of the federal and state constitutions regarding the basic freedoms of man and the more recent recognition of social and economic rights which were not explicitly stated in the older documents.

Several of the state constitutions, through recent revisions, have led the way in the statement of the rights in the latter category. Thus, many of them contain provisions on social security, the employment of minors, the employment of women, the right of workers to obtain employment, the

right of workers to just compensation, the right to a reasonable working day, the right to organize and bargain collectively with employers. The right to low-cost housing for persons of low income and the protection of children and adolescents are provided for in a number of state constitutions.

The bill of rights is divided into two parts. The first sets forth unequivocally the traditional rights and guarantees of all citizens in any American community. The second, taking into realistic account the current economic conditions in Puerto Rico, sets forth certain social and economic rights which are recognized by the commonwealth and which the commonwealth shall do its utmost to achieve.

Right to Organize

The right to organize—the right of association-is one of the rights now in the process of establishment. As long as ours was an agricultural economy there was no problem, for farmers have always been a highly individualistic and selfreliant group. Labor unions, labor organizers and union membership were far removed from their thinking and experience. The problem grew out of the trend toward urbanization and industrialization. The unionization of workers has, in late years, made enormous progress. The right to organize unions, and to maintain membership in them, is widely recognized by law and has been upheld by the courts in a large number of cases. But is this enough?

There are many who believe that it is not and there are a few tangible bits of evidence in support of this view. The *Model State Constitution* was drafted by a distinguished group of political scientists. They concluded that the time had come when the right to organize should be given specific protection in the basic law:¹

Right to Organize. Citizens shall have the right to organize, except in military or semi-military organizations not under the supervision of the state, and except for purposes of resisting the duly constituted authority of this state or of the United States.

This section goes on specifically to extend the right to organize to employees, both public and private:

Public employees shall have the right, through representatives of their own choosing, to present to and make known to the state, or any of its political subdivisions or agencies, their grievances and proposals. Persons in private employment shall have the right to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing.

The Model State Constitution has never been and is not intended to be adopted in toto by any state. The New Jersey Constitutional Convention of 1947, however, was drafting an actual working constitution for an existing state; it, too, concluded that in a modern industrial society, the right to organize should be protected (article I, section 19):

Persons in private employment shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively. Persons in public employment shall have the right to organize, present to and make known to the state, or any of its political subdivisions or agencies, their grievances and proposals through representatives of their own choosing.

Likewise, in the Missouri constitution of 1945 (article I, section 29), it is provided:

That employees shall have the right to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing.

The New York constitution of 1938 provided (article I, section 17):

Employees shall have the right to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing.

The constitution, however, went much farther, setting forth a clear bill of rights for labor:

Labor of human beings is not a commodity nor an article of commerce and shall never be so considered or construed.

No laborer, workman or mechanic, in the employ of a contractor or subcontractor engaged in the performance of any public work, shall be permitted to work more than eight hours in any day or more than five days in any week, except in cases of extraordinary emergency; nor shall he be paid less than the rate of wages prevailing in the same trade or occupation in the locality within the state where such public work is to be situated, erected or used.

The first paragraph of this statement contains an assertion of basic principle or policy, while the second raises some questions. However strongly one might believe in the basic idea of "a ceiling on hours and a floor under wages," one is bound—in view of the desirability of holding detailed provisions in the constitution to a minimum—to raise the query as to whether such a para-

¹ Fifth Edition, article I, section 103. National Municipal League, New York, 1948.

graph really belongs in the constitution.

The constitution of Puerto Rico, however, went even further in the effort to protect the worker against the social, economic and industrial hazards of modern life, writing much of the labor code into the basic law (article II, sections 16 and 18):

Section 16. The right of every employee to choose his occupation freely and to resign therefrom is recognized, as is his right to equal pay for equal work, to a reasonable minimum salary, to protection against risks to his health or person in his work or employment, and to an ordinary work day which shall not exceed eight hours. An employee may work in excess of this daily limit only if he is paid extra compensation as provided by law, at a rate never less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.

Section 18. In order to assure their right to organize and bargain collectively, persons employed by private businesses, enterprises and individual employers and by agencies or instrumentalities of the government operating as private businesses or enterprises, in their direct relations with their own employers shall have the right to strike, to picket and to engage in other legal concerted activities.

Nothing herein contained shall impair the authority of the Legislative Assembly to enact laws to deal with grave emergencies that clearly imperil the public health or safety or essential public services.

Freedom from Discrimination

The current controversy over segregation serves to emphasize the whole question of discriminatory practices based on race, creed, color or national origin. Statutes have for almost a hundred years forbidden certain types of discrimination in certain occupations in certain jurisdictions. Since World War II, no less than fifteen states and 36 municipalities have established public agencies charged with the elimination of discriminatory practices on the part of employment agencies, employers in hiring and of labor unions in establishing rules governing eligibility for membership.² Again, the question may be asked, is this enough?

If American democracy really means what it professes to mean, is it not time for our states to adopt as basic policy the principle that no individual shall be denied employment on the basis of factors quite irrelevant to his (or her) personal qualifications and experience, or be subjected to discriminatory treatment for such reasons in other normal relationships of life? The Model State Constitution does not deal with this problem of discrimination, but the New Jersey constitution of 1947 does (article I, section 5):

No person shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil or military right, nor be discriminated against in the exercise of any civil or military right, nor be segregated in the militia or in the public schools, because of religious principles, race, color, ancestry or national origin.

And so did the new constitutions for the proposed states of Alaska and Hawaii and the constitution of Puerto Rico.

² Your Rights under State and Local Fair Employment Practice Laws. Community Relations Service, New York, November 1955.

The Alaska constitution (article I, section 3):

Civil Rights. No person is to be denied the enjoyment of any civil or political right because of race, color, creed or national origin. The legislature shall implement this section.

The Hawaiian constitution (article I, sections 4 and 7):

Section 4. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor be denied the equal protection of the laws, nor be denied the enjoyment of his civil rights or be discriminated against in the exercise thereof becaus. of race, religion, sex or ancestry.

Section 7. No citizen shall be denied enlistment in any military organization of this state nor be segregated therein because of race, religious principles or ancestry.

The Puerto Rican constitution (article II, section 1):

The dignity of the human being is inviolable. All men are equal before the law. No discrimination shall be made on account of race, color, sex, birth, social origin or condition, or political and religious ideas. Both the laws and the system of public education shall embody these principles of essential human equality.

May I urge that this problem be not lightly dismissed, on the ground that there are relatively few members of minority groups in many of our states? Discrimination may be less extensive in some states or sections of the country than it is in others, and it may be expressed in somewhat different ways, but it is just as real where it does exist, and its effects are just as destructive of

the morale of those against whom it is practiced in one place as in another.

There has been much agitation for federal legislation in this field. The problem, however, is essentially one for the states themselves. The basic responsibility is theirs. A long line of Supreme Court decisions has clearly indicated that measures designed to put an end to discriminatory practices are in accord with the spirit and intent of the federal constitution. A few states and territories have acted but so far only a few.

Wiretapping

The frequent use of wiretapping to obtain information to be used in the prosecution of criminal cases raises some very difficult questions. From the point of view of the citizen, it clearly violates the doctrine of the right of privacy, the age-old Anglo-Saxon principle that a man's home is his castle. On the other hand, it is argued that, to a certain extent at least, the end justifies the meansthe end being the effective enforcement of the law and the protection of life and property. Here is a nice question of public policy upon which neither the courts nor the students of constitutional law are in agreement.

Those whose tendency is strongly to defend and protect civil rights generally take the position that wire-tapping is an iniquitous practice which ought seldom, if ever, to be condoned, while those whose chief concern is with law enforcement believe that wiretapping is proper when its use is or appears to be necessary in order to achieve the end of justice. It is not my purpose here to

press the correctness of either of these views, but rather to get the question on the agenda, so that it may be considered and discussed.

The New York convention of 1938 took a strong position on this matter, outlawing the practice (article I, section 12):

The right of the people to be secure against unreasonable interception of telephone and telegraph communications shall not be violated, and exparte orders or warrants shall issue only upon oath or affirmation that there is reasonable ground to believe that evidence of crime may thus be obtained, and identifying the particular means of communication, and particularly describing the person or persons whose communications are to be intercepted and the purpose thereof.

The Puerto Rican convention took a similar position (article II, section 10):

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated.

Wiretapping is prohibited.

No warrant for arrest or search and seizure shall issue except by judicial authority and only upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons to be arrested or the things to be seized.

Evidence obtained in violation of this section shall be inadmissible in the courts.

Although the Hawaiian constitution (article I, section 5) contains the usual provision regarding "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects" and to be secure against "unreasonable searches and seizures," there is no mention of or reference to the controversial wiretapping issue.

One suspects that, in the case for the use of wiretapping, the arguments are pretty much the same as have been used throughout the ages in defense of every practice that reacted to the detriment of the accused, and that made it easier for the prosecutor to build up a record of "convictions." This is one of those new problems which could be presented only in this technological age, when virtually everyone has a telephone.

Due Process

The familiar assurance that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law" or its equivalent is found in all our state constitutions. In the complicated society that exists today, one may well raise the question whether certain of the newer social and economic rights should be impaired, even with due process of law. Recent events at the national level, and in some states as well, have raised new questions in the field of due process. With these in mind, the Alaska Constitutional Convention included this provision (article I, section 7):

The right of all persons to fair and just treatment in the course of legislative and executive investigations shall not be infringed.

Similarly, the constitution of Puerto Rico contains this provision (article II, section 8):

Every person has the right to the protection of law against abusive at-

tacks on his honor, reputation and private or family life.

This problem is not a simple one, or one for which there is necessarily a "right" answer. The point is that here is an important problem worthy of serious consideration by delegates to future constitutional conventions.

Essential Services

There is general acceptance of the idea that the states are responsible for the program of public education and for maintaining effective programs in such fields as health and welfare and the conservation of natural resources. But to what extent should provision for these programs be written into the constitution? Although the legislature already possesses adequate authority to provide for these necessary public services, it is often felt that difficulties encountered in some jurisdictions, in providing for support of these programs on a continuing basis, justifies the inclusion of authorizations for them in broad and general terms.

For following the latter course there are abundant precedents not only in the Model State Constitution (articles X and XII), but also in the constitutions of New York (articles XI, XIV, XVII and XVIII), Alaska (articles VII and VIII), and Hawaii (articles VIII, IX and X). Of particular interest here, because it is so closely in line with the emphasis in this discussion on the bill of rights,

is the following provision from the constitution of Hawaii (article IX, section 1):

The state shall provide for the establishment, support and control of a statewide system of public schools free from sectarian control, a state university, public libraries and such other educational institutions as may be deemed desirable, including physical facilities therefore. There shall be no segregation in public educational institutions because of race, religion or ancestry; nor shall public funds be appropriated for the support or benefit of any sectarian or private educational institution.

Conclusions

The states have, over a long period of time, been the victims of neglect. It is time for an active and aggressive program, on a nation-wide basis, for the improvement and strengthening of state government. The need for such improvement has been emphasized by many writers, including the present one, and on a number of occasions by official groups and in official reports.

There is no better time to begin than now. The revision of our state constitutions is the first essential step in modernizing and rejuvenating our state governments. And in that process of modernization, serious attention must be given to bringing up to date and in harmony with modern needs the limited provisions contained in most of our state bills of rights.

News in Review

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Legislators Mangle Districting Plan

Substitute Voted for Washington Initiative

THE legislature of the state of Washington, which never since 1901 had obeyed the mandate of the state constitution to redistrict the state for purposes of legislative representation after each census, adopted in March a districting plan that effectively nullifies the "initiative" plan approved by the people at the November 1956 election.¹

There had been a redistricting in 1930, resulting from an initiative measure adopted by the people. As the legislature took no action to correct the inequalities that developed with the passage of time-including a ratio of 140,000 to 19,000 as to district populations—the League of Women Voters, with much public-spirited support but over great opposition, political prepared brought to adoption an initiative proposal creating districts of equal population as closely as practicable. The vote was 448,121 to 406,287.

As stated by Ross Cunningham in the Seattle Times on March 13, 1957:

"For the first time since the initiativeby-the-people process was written into the state constitution in 1913, a Washington legislature has voted to overturn a decision made by the voters under the initiative.

"Concurring in a previous decision by the Senate, the House of Representatives last night voted, 60 to 30, to substitute a measure drafted in the legislature for Initiative 199, voted by the people last November to redistrict the legislature.

"The House and Senate acted by authority of a 1952 amendment to the constitution enacted by the voters to provide the legislature with authority to override an initiative measure by a two-thirds vote. This authority was voted as a result of enactment of a welfare initiative in 1948 which sent the state spiraling toward bankruptcy.

"The 1952 amendment was 'sold' to the voters as a measure which would be used in emergencies. Since 199 would have changed legislative districts in such a way as to make risky the chances of many lawmakers being re-elected, they apparently decided it had brought about an emergency situation."

Most representatives from rural areas, the over-representation of which, in the present legislature, would have been much reduced by Initiative 199, voted to supersede it, even though the substitute proposal would give King County (Seattle) the same number of legislators as 199.

An analysis of the new measure, S.B. 374, by the League of Women Voters, shows that three Senate districts thereunder average less than 20,000 population, while four others average more than 80,000; and the districts of largest population—including some in King County—are ones that have grown the most since the 1950 census upon which the plan was calculated.

One factor in the success of the new bill in the House of Representatives appeared to be vote-trading on the part of legislators from Pierce County (Tacoma). The Seattle Argus asserts that they were urged to vote against 199 in exchange for votes from less populous eastern Washington to authorize

¹ See the Review, April 1956, page 175; October 1956, page 447; December 1956, page 545; and February 1957, page 66.

Tacoma to build the Cowlitz Dam. But, says the Argus, "The Cowlitz Dam bill went down to defeat 50 to 49 amid persistent rumors that at least two eastern Washington legislators, who had agreed to vote for it in exchange for Pierce County votes against 199, had reneged on their bargain. Pierce County consequently got nothing. It lost Cowlitz Dam and it lost 199 as well."

Governor Rosellini was urged to veto S.B. 374 but he allowed it to become law without his signature.

The League of Women Voters plans to attack the new law in the courts as unconstitutional. An initiative may not be repealed by the legislature within two years, according to the constitution, although it may be amended by two-thirds vote of both houses of the legislature. S.B. 374 is claimed to repeal rather than amend Initiative 199, as it bases its districts upon present districts or modifications thereof, instead of on 199's districts, and even uses voting precincts as fundamental units, whereas 199 uses census tracts. Furthermore, the gross inequalities in district populations under S.B. 374 are in violation of the constitutional requirement that redistricting be "according to the number of inhabitants."

Governor Urges Revision of Pennsylvania Constitution

Governor George M. Leader of Pennsylvania, through a group of seven senators, has submitted to the legislature a bill to create a temporary state "Commission on Constitutional Revision," to consist of fifteen citizens appointed by him with the advice and consent of the Senate. The bill provides:

"The commission shall study the constitution of the commonwealth as amended in the light of contemporary conditions and the anticipated problems and needs of the people of the commonwealth. If the commission finds change in the constitution advisable it shall consider the best means of effecting such change. If the commission determines that the best means is by amendment it shall so recommend and its report shall contain drafts of the proposed amendment or amendments. If the commission determines that the best means is by general revision it shall collect, compile and analyze such information as it may deem useful to the delegates at a constitutional convention and shall make any recommendations relating to the substance of revision as it may consider appropriate.

"The commission shall submit its final report to the governor and the General Assembly not later than one week after the convening of the General Assembly in regular session in 1959.

"The commission is authorized to make any studies or analyses it may deem relevant through its own personnel or in cooperation with any public or private agency including universities, colleges, foundations and research organizations.

"The members of the commission shall receive no compensation but shall be reimbursed for all expenses necessarily incurred in the performance of their duties."

The bill also provides for an appropriation of \$175,000.

Governor Leader pointed out that the present constitution dates from 1874.

New York to Vote on Constitutional Issues

At the general election in November the voters of the state of New York will pass upon six proposed constitutional amendments and the question whether a state constitutional convention shall be held in 1959. The legislature, which adjourned on March 30, placed the amendments on the ballot. The convention referendum is the result of a constitutional requirement that such a question must be submitted every twenty years.

The amendments, if approved by the

people, would have the following effects:

- Legalize "bingo" on a local option basis;
- (2) Authorize the state to issue up to \$250,000,000 in bonds to finance a state university expansion;
- (3) Permit the state, despite the constitutional requirement that all state-owned land in the Adirondack and Catskill forest preserves "be forever kept as wild forest lands," to use not more than 400 acres of such land for relocating highways, totaling up to 50 miles, to eliminate dangerous curves and grades;
- (4) Permit the state to sell to private persons parcels acquired from private owners, because of tax delinquency, which have been added to the forest preserve; proceeds of such sale to be used to purchase private land in the Adirondack and Catskill Parks. Many small detached parcels acquired through tax delinquency have been added to the forest preserve but are isolated from the central preserves.
- (5) Exempt money borrowed by town or village housing authorities with the backing of the municipality, from the constitutional debt limitations. In the case of cities such borrowing is already exempt from debt limits.
- (6) Permit limited-profit housing companies that borrow from the state for middle-income housing to repay in such manner that the combined interest and amortization charge remains constant for the life of the loan.

R. I. Election Law Study Proposed

In Rhode Island both Governor Roberts and the League of Women Voters favor a study of the state's election laws by a commission before a limited constitutional convention is called, as proposed for June by a group of Republican legislators.

The league has sponsored four bills in

the legislature dealing with elections. Three would make changes in the state's direct primary act, to give a better break than at present to candidates not endorsed by party organizations. fourth would require absentee and shutin voters to cast their ballots on election days; they have done so in advance in some communities. The league contends that its proposal is the simplest way, pending constitutional changes, of bringing the voting laws into conformity with the opinion of the State Supreme Court to the effect that laws authorizing civilian absentees and shut-ins to vote before election day are unconstitutional.

In opposing an early constitutional convention the league points out that one will be necessary after a complete survey of the election laws, preferably by a commission made up of legislators and representatives of the public, assisted by specialists in election law procedure. It states, "Reckless use of the limited constitutional convention should be avoided at all cost. Once we get into the habit of straightening out poorly drafted laws by calling conventions to correct our mistakes, we have taken a long step toward undermining constitutional government."

Pennsylvania Adds to State Merit System

Some 5,900 professional and technical positions have recently been placed in the state's civil service merit system by Governor George M. Leader of Pennsylvania. Present incumbents will have to pass qualifying examinations to obtain permanent tenure. The governor stated that about 9,000 positions altogether have been given civil service status under the administration's policy for professional and technical work.

Civil Service Bill Vetoed in West Virginia

A state civil service bill passed by the Democratic majority in the West Virginia legislature has been vetoed by Republican Governor Cecil H. Underwood, on the grounds that it was politically motivated and would tie his hands in controlling state personnel management. The bill was patterned after the Model State Civil Service Law of the National Civil Service League and the National Municipal League.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

HUNTINGTON, WEST VIRGINIA, (1950 population 86,353) the state's largest city, adopted a council-manager charter by a vote of 9,586 to 5,282, on April 9. Prime mover in securing the new charter was the All Huntington Association, which campaigned by radio, television and press. A seven-member council will be elected on August 20 of this year and the new government will go into effect September 3.

SKOKIE, ILLINOIS, (1955 population 33,405) adopted the council-manager plan on April 16 by a vote of 8,682 to 6,937; CRYSTAL LAKE in the same state (1954 population 5,976) adopted the plan 1,358 to 882.

Voters of Fond Du Lac, Wisconsin, (1950 population 29,936) adopted the state's council-manager optional law on April 2, 6,344 to 4,461. The city was the last in the state to operate under commission government. The new plan will go into effect in April 1958.

A council-manager home rule charter was approved at a general election in LA MARQUE, TEXAS, on March 1. La Marque, in Galveston County, was incorporated late in 1953, under general law, with a mayor and council. In 1950 its population was recorded as 7,359; it is now estimated at 12,000. A new council was elected April 6.

ROSENBERG, TEXAS, (6,210) voted 378 to 150 on November 20, 1956, to adopt a

council-manager home rule charter. It became effective two days later.

MARSHALL, MICHIGAN, (5,777) adopted a council-manager ordinance on April 1 by a vote of 701 to 633. The plan will go into effect within 90 days.

The city council of Hollister, California, (4,903) passed a council-manager ordinance on February 4 which became effective March 4.

The town of GORHAM, MAINE, (4,742) has accepted the selectmen-manager enabling act by a vote of 772 to 702 and will operate with a town manager next year.

Voters of ESSEX, VERMONT, (3,931) at the March town meeting, voted 163 to 63 to adopt the town manager form of government. CAVENDISH (1,374) voted to empower the board of selectmen to hire a town manager.

The International City Managers' Association reports it has added ten more cities to its list of council-manager communities. Those not already reported here are: Tolleson, Arizona, (3,042); Imperial Beach (285) and Riverbank (2,662), California; Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, (5,268); and Price, Utah, (6,010).

Hogansville, Georgia, (3,769) began operating under the council-manager plan on February 1 with appointment by the council of the city clerk as manager. The plan was favored by the voters in an advisory referendum held four years ago but has not been put into effect until now.

The village manager plan was adopted in Brown Deer, Wisconsin, (1,324) at the March primary.

SOUTH BURLINGTON, VERMONT, retained its council-manager form of government by the overwhelming margin of 887 to 99 in an election on March 5. In WOODSTOCK, the town meeting voted against the hiring of a town manager 247 to 146.

Manager Plan Cuts Taxes, Reduces Debt

In Columbia's [South Carolina] first year [1951] under the city manager plan, the city wiped out an inherited deficit of about \$315,000 and ended the twelve months with a balance in the treasury of about \$285,000—an improvement of about \$600,000.

In addition, Columbia paid off \$300,000 worth of tax anticipation notes of the previous year and retired at maturity \$214,000 worth of outstanding bonds.

This was accomplished without a tax increase.

Not only that, in 1952, two years after the first city manager was hired, the city was able to cut taxes from 44 mills to 42 mills—the first reduction in 30 years.

The tax rate of 42 mills was one of the lowest real estate and personal property taxes in effect in any major city in the country, according to a national real estate analysis.

The improvement has been accomplished despite salary increases for city employees and rises in cost of materials and supplies during an inflationary period.

Charleston Post, September 24, 1956

Province town, Massachusetts, voters upheld their town-manager-selectmen government by a vote of 731 to 451.

The voters of Andover, Massachusetts, defeated a proposed town manager plan in March. The town of Barre rejected a proposed town-manager charter on March 3.

The city council of Augusta, Georgia, has deferred action for at least a year on a proposed council-manager amendment to the city charter and has created a nine-man committee to make a further study of the council-manager plan. The committee includes Mayor Hugh L. Hamilton (a council-manager advocate), four councilmen and four private citizens.

A council-manager charter has been drafted for Atlantic Beach, Florida, which, if approved by the state legislature, will be submitted to the voters at a local referendum on July 23. If adopted, a commission (council) of five will be elected in October, to take office in December.

Legislation is pending in the Pennsylvania legislature to give third-class cities the right to adopt various forms of charters, including council-manager, under home rule provisions. It is opposed by many city officials.

Voters of several Wisconsin cities passed on council-manager plan proposals at the April 2 election. Two adoptions are listed above. In WATER-TOWN voters retained the council-manager plan, 3,007 to 2,516. In NEENAH voters turned down two council-manager referenda. A proposal to adopt the state's optional council-manager law was defeated 2,596 to 2,003; in an advisory referendum choosing between a full-time mayor and the state's optional manager act the former was favored 3,123 to 1,659. The city has a part-time mayor at present. Kenosha abandoned the council-manager plan in favor of the mayor-council form by a vote of 12,382 to 10,407. ASHLAND turned down a proposal to change from the mayor-aldermen plan back to the council-manager plan which the city gave up in 1955; the vote was 2,315 to 1,701.

In SAVANNA, ILLINOIS, a petition bearing 200 signatures calling for a referendum to abolish the council-manager plan,

has been filed with the city clerk. Objections have also been filed, stating that the plan has not been in effect for the four years required by statute before it can be superseded.

Petitions have been circulated in EAST St. Louis, Illinois, calling for a referendum on adopting the council-manager plan.

On April 2 voters of Junction City, Kansas, defeated a proposal to abandon the council-manager plan, 1,816 to 1,270.

At the April 2 election in Columbia, Mississippi, voters turned down a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan, 428 to 187.

A citizens' committee in FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS, is actively campaigning for a change from the commission plan to the council-manager plan.

In LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, which voted two and a half to one at the November 6 election to adopt the councilmanager plan, the Good Government Committee has filed a petition in the circuit court to force Mayor Mann to call an election for the "board of directors" (council) and also calling for a declaratory judgment as to the legality of the council-manager act as amended by the legislature.

In COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO, the Organization for Representative Government, a group opposed to the councilmanager plan in effect there since 1921, circulated a petition calling for repeal. The city clerk found that only 956 out of 2,373 signatures were those of qualified voters; 1,136 valid signatures were required for the purpose of mandating a referendum. The council-manager plan is approved by a large number of local organizations, which include the Federated Trades Council, the Building and Construction Trades Council, the Board of Realtors, the Bar Association and the League of Women Voters, in addition to the Charter Association.

Two Texas cities have voted to retain their council-manager plan of government. In CLARESVILLE the vote for retention was 319 to 200; in COMMERCE, 554 to 337.

A bill to permit cities having up to 30,000 inhabitants to adopt the council-manager plan by statute has been approved in the state of Washington by the House of Representatives.

The International City Managers' Association has announced that in addition to the father-son team of city managers in Maine (see the Review, April 1957, page 202) there is one in Michigan. Roy C. Miles has been manager at Muskegon Heights for over fourteen years; his son Clifford has been a manager for three and a half years at Gaylord and Three Rivers.

Detroit Politicos Gamble on Nominations

Except for Connecticut, with its new primary law, Michigan continues to be the only state which permits candidates, as an alternative to filing nominating petitions, to obtain a place on primary or election ballots by putting down a cash deposit, returnable afterward to candidates who muster a certain required percentage of the vote. Since installation of this device in 1931, its use has steadily extended in frequency and in legal availability.

Since the last description of the experience in the Review, Wayne County (Detroit), with a long ballot and a great list of obscure county-wide offices, has continued to be a jurisdiction where running for office is a favorite outdoor sport or lottery. This folk-way is not to be attributed to the simple ease of risking a \$100 deposit, for extension of the device to outstate counties has not produced any similar stimulus to futile candidacies, but presumably results from peculiarities

¹ See "Candidates Won't Stay Out," by Harold M. Dorr, the Review, May 1949, page 224, and "Nomination by Money Deposit," by Harold M. Dorr, the Review, June 1954, page 288.

of the Detroit political terrain. The device, used in all other English-speaking countries, is included in the Model City Charter of the National Municipal League.

Chester J. Morse, executive secretary of the Detroit Citizens League, now supplies another vignette of experience with it from the Wayne County primaries of August 1956:

Party primaries for nominations for 38 state representatives brought out 247 contestants of whom 131 filed by petition and 116 by deposit; only 62 of the latter earned the refund of their deposits.

For seven state senatorships, 58 contestants appeared, sixteen by petition and 42 by deposit, of whom only twenty earned refunds.

For seven county offices, 49 contested, all using deposits as safer than challengeable petitions which, for these offices, require more signatures.

Incumbents, with less need to identify themselves, prefer the ease of the deposit method and, by a roundabout arrangement, get their titles put under their names on the ballots, which is worth many votes; newcomers favor petitions as a device for getting acquainted with voters.

Enlarged petition requirements influence candidates toward use of the foolproof deposit device but there remains the amazing array of candidates at every election who risk their deposits only to exhibit a complete absence of any substantial following.

A recent new animation on the part of the county election authorities in verifying signatures on nominating petitions seems likely to speed the drift toward greater use of the deposit device.

R.S.C.

Baltimore Combines Housing and Urban Renewal

The city council of Baltimore has created an Urban Renewal and Housing Agency, thus, according to the Citizens Planning and Housing Association of that city, becoming the first major city in the United States to combine its three housing programs—public housing, redevelopment and housing law enforcement. The agency is headed by a commission of five members and a director. The commission chairman is Walter Sondheim, Jr., former school board chairman.

The new agency is a result of recommendations of Baltimore's Urban Renewal Study Board. A committee of civic organizations has been formed to help carry out the recommendations. It has concerned itself not only with legislation to set up and implement the new agency but also with the personnel of the planning and zoning commissions and the appointment of a highly trained man to assist Mayor D'Alesandro in coordinating traffic, transportation, schools, recreation and public works with urban renewal.

Dearborn Unites Police and Fire Departments

Officials of Dearborn, Michigan, (1950 population 94,994) announced in March that the city's police and fire departments will be integrated. Personnel of over 200 will all be called policemen—instead of safety officers as in some other cities that have an integrated force. All new men will be trained both in police work and fire fighting.

Twenty-four motor cars, equipped to handle police, fire and rescue missions, have been purchased. They will replace police scout cars.

Suggest City Allowances for Employee Union Activities

After revelations that in some instances city employees were being allowed time and pay for full-time or part-time union activities, Mayor Robert F. Wagner of New York City appointed a special committee on time and pay allowances for such activities. It consisted of three city

officials, headed by City Administrator Charles F. Preusse. It reported on February 28, after surveying the practices in private industry on these matters and formulating appropriate adaptations of them to city employment.

The report recommended for city personnel:

"1. An employee elected to a union office requiring all or a substantial part of his time should be placed on leave of absence without pay.

"2. Subject to appropriate controls, employee representatives should be permitted, during normal working hours, to investigate and process grievances, participate in meetings of the departmental joint labor relations committees, negotiate with and appear before departmental and other city officials and agencies, without loss of pay.

"3. For other types of union activity, employee representatives should be permitted, subject to appropriate controls, to take time off without pay or chargeable to their annual leave allowance.

"4. Such matters as seniority and other rights for employees on leave without pay to carry on union activities should be referred to the Department of Personnel and the Department of Labor for detailed study."

The Committee on Fiscal Affairs and Management of the Citizens Union of the City of New York reported on March 19 in favor of the recommendations, with the hope that they would be promptly adopted and closely adhered to.

South Dakota To Vote on Home Rule

The South Dakota legislature has adopted a joint resolution to place on the ballot at the 1958 general election the question of whether municipalities will be permitted, by a favorable vote of their citizens, to adopt their own charters and enjoy home rule.

Cities May Now Join AMA

The American Municipal Association, the membership of which has heretofore consisted of state leagues of municipalities, has recently taken action to permit direct memberships on the part of the ten largest cities in each state, any other city of over 50,000 population, and state capitals if not included in the other categories, provided such cities are in good standing with their state leagues.

Mayors' Conference Meets in September

The U.S. Conference of Mayors has announced that it will hold its 1957 annual conference at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City September 9-11.

ASPA Management Course at University of Georgia

Eighty federal, state, municipal and county officials, government researchers, university administrators and teachers attended the first week-long Management Institute for government administrators sponsored by the American Society for Public Administration. The institute was held at the University of Georgia, Athens, February 25 to March 1. Among the participants were four city managers, two county managers and heads of seven state agencies in the eight southeastern states.

Participants spent the week analyzing administrative problems and cases in small groups, attending lectures by experienced administrators, viewing films and hearing tape-recorded demonstrations.

The society's second institute is scheduled for the Kellogg Center, Michigan State University, June 3 to 7, for public administrators in Michigan, Ohio and Indiana.

County and Township

Edited by William N. Cassella, Jr., and Victor Jones

New Bi-State Agency Planned

Comprises Eight Counties in Kansas City Vicinity

CREATION of the "Mo-Kan Metropolitan Development District" by interstate compact between Missouri and Kansas has been approved by the Kansas legislature and by the Missouri Senate. Modeled after a similar agreement between Missouri and Illinois relating to the St. Louis Metropolitan area, the compact would establish the "Mo-Kan Development Agency" to exercise the powers granted to the district. The area encompassed would include five counties in Missouri (Jackson, Cass, Clay, Ray and Platte) and three in Kansas (Johnson, Leavenworth and Wyandotte).

The Kansas City area is one of 23 metropolitan areas-as designated by the 1950 census-that extend across one or more state boundary lines. In 1950 the area's population of 814,357 was divided so that 27 per cent was on the Kansas side and 73 per cent on the Missouri side. As the Bureau of the Census defines the area, it includes four counties, 51 incorporated municipalities and almost 250 other governmental units. Greater Kansas City is also divided by several natural barriers, principally the Missouri, Kansas and Blue Rivers and the rugged terrain that effectively separates and isolates areas of land use.

There are a number of pressing problems that require an interstate approach. One concerns interstate bridges across the Missouri River. Construction of a new bridge connecting the eastern end of the Kansas Turnpike with Kansas City, Missouri, has been delayed because Missouri statutes do not permit Kansas City to cooperate in such a project.

Another problem is that of sewage disposal. In the area to the south and west of the center of the city, the natural drainage basins extend into both Kansas and Missouri. Logically, sewage disposal for the entire drainage area should be under the jurisdiction of a single governmental unit but present Missouri and Kansas laws do not permit formation of this type of special purpose district.

Other problems interstate in nature are the pollution of air and water, unequal and uncoordinated urban services, difficulties in integrating the civil defense program and the lack of area-wide planning

If the Mo-Kan Metropolitan Development District is established, it could provide the organizational nucleus for the solution of many of these problems. According to the identical bills submitted to the Kansas and Missouri legislatures, the agency will consist of ten commissioners, five chosen by each state, all of whom must reside in the eight-county Mo-Kan district. The agency would elect its own chairman and vice chairman from among its members. Decisions would be made by a majority vote and would be binding if at least three commissioners from each state were present.

The most important powers of the agency would be "to plan, construct, maintain, own and operate bridges, tunnels and water supply, sewage, drainage, and sewage and garbage disposal facilities." This grant of authority goes somewhat beyond that given to the bistate agency for the St. Louis metropolitan area in that it permits the Mo-Kan agency to construct and operate sewer lines and sewage and garbage disposal facilities. The St. Louis agency is

limited in this regard to the making of plans for the coordination of sewage disposal facilities. The proponents of this measure believe that the first major task of the agency would be establishment of an area-wide sewage system.

The new agency would also have extensive planning functions. It would not, however, have any authority to impose its plans on cities and counties. All plans would have to be accepted by the communities involved before they could be enforced. The fields of planning that could be covered by the agency include streets, highways, parkways, parking areas, terminals, water supply, sewage and garbage disposal systems, educational institutions, health and welfare facilities, and recreational and conservation projects. In fact, the agency would be permitted to make plans in regard to any matters "in which joint or coordinate action of the communities in the area is deemed generally beneficial." Many sponsors of the compact feel that areawide planning would eventually become the most significant activity of the agency.

Financing of Agency

The agency will be financed in a number of ways. Principally, it will be authorized to charge and collect fees for the use of facilities owned and operated by it and may issue revenue bonds to finance the construction of such facilities. Also, it is anticipated that both states will make yearly appropriations to defray administrative and overhead expenses and that the agency will receive some contributions from local governmental units for certain special projects. For its planning activities the agency would be eligible for federal funds.

But it is significant to note that the agency would have no power to tax. The supporters of the proposal feel this is not necessary. Nevertheless, this may prove a real hindrance to the agency's

success unless the state legislatures take responsibility for providing continuing financial support. This lack of financial support has proved a major stumbling block to the effective operation of the St. Louis agency. It was given a substantial initial appropriation by both state legislatures but subsequently had difficulty in getting further grants from this source. One thing is clear, however, from the mode of financial support provided and the assignment of functions, there is no intention that either agency will ever take over the essentially nonmetropolitan functions of the local units.

Among the incidental powers granted the Mo-Kan agency are the right to contract with local units of government in regard to any of the powers granted the agency; the right to petition federal. state and local regulatory commissions for the purpose of improving the transaction of commerce in and through the district; and the right to advise and assist local officials in the integration of local improvements with the plans for the development of the district. The new agency would be prohibited specifically from taking any public property without the consent of the political subdivision affected.

After the model compact bill is passed by both legislatures in identically the same form, the compact can be signed by representatives of the two states. Following this the Mo-Kan agency will be appointed and it may then apply to the United States Congress for consent and approval of the compact. Before that consent is obtained, the agency could presumably go ahead at least with its planning activities. There is little reason to believe that Congress would not approve the proposal as it presently stands, since it is closely patterned after the Missouri-Illinois Metropolitan District Compact. The latter received congressional approval in 1950; although in giving its consent Congress stipulated that

Dade County to Vote on Metropolitan Charter

On May 21 the voters of Dade County, Florida, will vote on adoption of a home rule charter designed to provide a pattern of metropolitan government by which the existing municipalities will continue to provide local services and the county government will be reorganized to furnish area-wide services for the Miami metropolitan area. The charter, drafted by the Metropolitan Charter Board, was authorized by an amendment to the Florida constitution approved in a statewide vote at the November 1956 election.

the revenue bonds of the authority and the interest thereon would be subject to the tax laws of the United States and that amendments to the compact would also have to have congressional approval. Similar stipulations would probably be made in regard to the Mo-Kan compact.

As of April 5, 1957, the model compact bill has passed the Kansas House and Senate without amendment and without opposition, and the governor has indicated he will sign it. It has passed the Missouri Senate without amendment but with some opposition from two senators whose counties would be included in the proposed development district. Although it has not yet passed the lower house, there appears to be no opposition in that chamber. Of course if any changes are made in the bill by the Missouri legislature, the Kansas legislature would have to re-enact its measure to incorporate these changes.

There is a high probability now that the identical bills will be enacted into law in both states and that the compact will be signed within the next few months. The new Mo-Kan Development Agency, if given sufficient support, could provide the solution to many of the interstate problems confronting the Kansas City metropolitan area.

JOHN G. GRUMM

University of Kansas

Tennessee Counties May Adopt Manager Plan

An act providing for the optional reorganization of county government on the basis of the county manager plan has been adopted by the Tennessee General Assembly and signed by the governor. This act is based upon the recommendations of the Citizens Committee to Study County Government created by the County Quarterly Court (legislative body) of Sullivan County. The act applies to all counties in the state having a population of 400,000 or less.

A council of seven members elected on combined at-large and district basis is provided. The manager's powers over personnel, finance and purchasing are stated. Various administrative departments may be created by ordinance. Constitutional elective officers of sheriff, trustee, register, county clerk and county board of education continue to be independent. The manager is authorized to appoint the county attorney subject to approval by the council.

The option may be placed on the ballot of a county by local petition. The earliest date on which it may take effect is September 1, 1958. Except as to the independent constitutional offices, the law follows the basic principles of the *Model County Charter* of the National Municipal League.

East Baton Rouge Parish Gets Administrative Officer

The voters of East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, approved seven amendments to the charter of their consolidated city-parish (county) government in the November 1956 general election. Six of the amendments were proposed by the Plan of Government Study Committee appointed in 1955 and all had the full support of the incumbent administration and council.

Two of the amendments enhance the status of the executive. Under one the mayor-president is given veto power on all matters except those specifically prohibited by the charter. The council may override his veto. Another amendment establishes the position of administrative officer, who will be appointed by the mayor-president to serve at his pleasure and will relieve the chief executive of many routine duties.

The formula for allocating industrial tax revenue to rapidly growing towns was modified by charter amendment. Also the composition of the city-parish planning commission was altered, replacing the representative of the state Department of Public Works by an additional representative of the rural section of the parish. The city continues to have three of the five members of the commission. The commission will act as the zoning agency for the entire parish.

Other amendments increased the per diem of councilmen, permitted facsimile signatures on checks and other negotiable instruments issued by the city-parish treasurer and reorganized the city-parish pension system.

TWILEY W. BARKER, JR.

Southern University Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Home Rule for New York Counties One Step Nearer

The New York legislature has passed for the second time an amendment to the state constitution permitting counties outside New York City to draft, adopt and amend their own charters. Submission to the people will not take place until November 1958, this having been deferred by order of the legislature to make way for other submissions in November 1957. If adopted, the amendment will require some special implementation which the legislature is required to provide before July 1, 1959.

Under present law counties may adopt one of several optional forms of government provided by the legislature.

Administrative Officer Named in Montgomery County, Ohio

The board of county commissioners of Montgomery County (Dayton), Ohio, has named an administrative assistant who will be the county's administrative officer. Its program is modeled after the CAO experience in Cuyahoga County (Cleveland).

Named to the \$12,600 a year job was John Patrick McHugh, a 31-year-old assistant county prosecutor who has been legal advisor to the county commissioners and most county offices. Technically, McHugh is an assistant county commission clerk.

In setting up the position, commissioners said the administrative officer's duties would include assisting officials in setting up a long range plan for a new courthouse, juvenile center, jail and library, and modernization of county roads and bridges.

In a resolution they said his duties would also include:

(1) Administrative supervision and control of county offices over which commissioners have statutory jurisdiction;

(2) Preparation of the county's annual budget;

(3) A program for the analysis, standardization and classification of positions and salaries. This program will include a study of remuneration being paid for comparable services by federal, state and municipal agencies.

(Continued on page 264)

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr., and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

de Valera Wins Irish Election

Country Uses Hare System to Elect Dail Eireann

FIANNA Fail (Party of Destiny), led by the former prime minister, New York-born Eamon de Valera, obtained its largest majority in the Dail Eireann (Irish parliament) at the Irish general election on March 5. Even at that, the party polled a little less than half the first-choice votes cast (48.3 per cent), which is a measure of how closely contested the Irish elections have been over the last few decades by de Valera's party and the coalition led by outgoing Prime Minister John A. Costello.

Ireland uses the Hare system of proportional representation, employing the single transferable vote in which the voter indicates his order of preference among the candidates. The election is by districts each of which chooses a small number of candidates.

Fianna Fail won 78 of the 147 seats (53.1 per cent), a gain of eleven (not counting a vacancy in the party's delegation in the previous Dail). Its working

majority will actually be greater than the foregoing figures indicate because the four members elected by Sinn Fein are expected to abstain from participation pursuant to the party's policy. The resurgence of this party, linked with elements seeking annexation by violence of the North Ireland counties affiliated with Great Britain, was one of the unexpected features of the election.

Another small party, Clann na Poblachta (Republican party) suffered a decline almost as remarkable, not so much for the loss of two of the three seats formerly held as for the defeat of its leader, Sean McBride, minister of foreign affairs in the Costello cabinet, whose withdrawal of support from the coalition government had precipitated the election.

Costello's party, Fine Gael (United Ireland), remains the second largest in the Dail, but it polled only 26.6 per cent of the first-choice votes and won only 40 seats (a loss of eight). The Labor party lost six of the eighteen seats it previously held and Clann na Talmhan (Farmers party) lost two out of the five it had held. The number of independents, however, increased from five to nine.

(Continued on page 274)

IRELAND, ELECTION OF DAIL EIREANN (Parliament)
March 5, 1957

1			
First-Choice Votes Cast	Percentage of First- Choice Votes	Seats Won	Percentage of Seats
592,988	48.3	78	53.1
326,701	26.6	40	27.2
111,748	9.1	12	8.2
80,402	6.6	9	6.1
65,640	5.3	4	2.7
28,905	2.4	3	2.0
20,632	1.6	1	0.7
	592,988 326,701 111,748 80,402 65,640 28,905	First-Choice of First- Votes Cast Choice Votes 592,988 48.3 326,701 26.6 111,748 9.1 80,402 6.6 65,640 5.3 28,905 2.4	First-Choice of First-Votes Seats Votes Cast Choice Votes Won 592,988 48.3 78 326,701 26.6 40 111,748 9.1 12 80,402 6.6 9 65,640 5.3 4 28,905 2.4 3

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Jackson Phillips

Public Bond Sales Save Millions

Bring New York City Lower Interest Rates

A SAVING of \$91/2 million in interest costs by public sales of New York City bond issues was claimed recently by Comptroller Lawrence E. Gerosa. He revealed that during his administration \$301 million of city bonds had been sold, and that the lower interest costs from their public sale will result in this saving over the life of the issues. Had these investments been made with moneys in the city's pension and sinking funds, as formerly, the interest rate would have been at least 3 per cent per annum. Sale of the bonds to the public, however, has resulted in an interest cost of slightly less than 21/2 per cent.

This kind of news is particularly encouraging to those who favor periodic studies of the fiscal structures of governmental bodies, since the savings may be attributed to such a study and to the comptroller's recognition of its merits. The City of New York was advised to pursue exactly this debt management policy in October 1951, in The Municipal Debt, A Description, Analysis and Appraisal of Debt Policy and Administration of the City of New York,1 by Frederick L. Bird. Dr. Bird's study was part of the finance study directed by Robert M. Haig and Carl S. Shoup for the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey. The Mayor's Committee study, directed by Luther Gulick, was an exhaustive investigation of all of the city's activities, conducted at a cost of about \$2.2 million. Thus adoption of this single recommendation covered the cost of the entire study several times over; additional savings resulting from the multitude of recommendations by the over-all study have therefore made it one of the best investments the city has ever made.

President Reassures Mayors on Slum Clearance

A group of seven mayors, representing the American Municipal Association, were reassured recently by the President that the federal government would continue its grants to cities for slum clearance. The mayors talked with President Eisenhower about recent budget cuts for slum clearance; while the President promised no new funds, the mayors said they were encouraged by the talks.

Present at the conference were John B. Hynes, chairman of the National Council of Mayors; Ben West, Nashville, Tennessee, president of the American Municipal Association; Anthony J. Celebrezze, Cleveland; Richard C. Lee, New Haven, Connecticut; Richardson Dilworth, Philadelphia; Donald H. Mead, Syracuse; and William A. Cannot, Richmond, California.

The President included \$250 million for slum clearance in his budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1. Housing Administrator Albert M. Cole reduced this item to \$175 million. The mayors asked the President to restore the full amount and to release \$100 million now held in reserve from previous appropriations for slum clearance.

After meeting with the President, the mayors conferred with Sherman Adams, assistant to the President, and the delegation was asked to detail its reasons for asking the federal government for more

New York City, Mayor's Committee on Management Survey, 1952. 163 pages.

funds. It was reported that the President stressed the need for greater participation at the city level in financing slum clearance projects. Mayor West is reported to have told the President that any lag in the federal share of the program would lead to much heavier demands for public housing funds.

Housing Administrator Cole said that the \$175 million authorization for the coming fiscal year will "provide for a vigorous, forward-moving program of urban renewal." He stated that "this program has always been an important part of the administration's domestic program and I can say to you without hesitation that this administration is definitely not curtailing or changing its policy on urban renewal." He said that with the new authorization of \$175 million there will be available a total authorization, including funds from previous years, of \$1.175 billion. This "will support an urban renewal program of tremendous significance to the cities of this nation."

First Quarter New Issue Financing at Record High

In the first quarter of 1957 state and municipal long term financing was at a record high, according to data compiled by *The Daily Bond Buyer*. At the same time there were indications of voter hesitation in approving new authorizations, as approvals of new proposals dropped to about half the volume approved in the first quarter of 1956.

New state and municipal issues totaled a record of \$1,737,555,832 in the first three months of 1957, compared with the previous record of \$1,516,894,331 for the same period in 1956. Revenue bond financing for the first quarter of 1957 amounted to \$394,558,000 as compared with \$432,964,500 for the same period in 1956.

State and municipal bond proposals

reported as approved by the voters during the first quarter of this year totaled \$306,658,389, as compared with \$605,540,940 for the first three months of 1956. During the first quarter ending March 31, a total of \$119,803,500 proposals were reported to have been defeated by the voters, compared with \$72,220,470 defeated during the same period last year.

New York State Rejects School Finance Authority

A bill to create a state school financing authority was rejected recently in the New York State Assembly. New York thereby failed to join the states in which the almost simple faith prevails that authorities can solve any local fiscal problem.

The measure would have set up an authority to raise money through the sale of its own obligations to the public. With the proceeds it would have bought bonds issued by local school districts to finance new buildings. In submitting the bill to the legislature Governor Harriman contended that it would save school districts up to 1 per cent in interest charges. He estimated that such savings on the volume of school bonds expected to be issued in the next two years might aggregate as much as \$30 million over the life of the bonds.

The proposal was the result of studies over the last year by the Governor's Committee on the Marketing of School Bonds, headed by Arthur Levitt, state comptroller. Members included Beardsley Ruml, Elliot V. Bell and Cushman McGee.

In announcing the rejection of the bill Assemblyman William H. MacKenzie stated that the Republican majority sympathized with its purposes but doubted that the bill could achieve them. The proposed authority's bonds would have lacked any support of state credit; their coupon rate, therefore, would depend on the rating given to them by bond dealers

and purchasers. Such ratings are generally dependent on the bonds which the authority itself holds. MacKenzie contended that "there is no reason to assume that school districts with high credit ratings would offer their bonds to the authority. Consequently its portfolio is likely to be made up of obligations and districts with less attractive ratings and therefore the authority's ratings might be no better than the ratings of such districts."

Still another factor in the rejection of the bill was that it would possibly reduce the demand for school bonds, since it would reduce the size of the present market. MacKenzie pointed out that under existing federal law commercial banks that are members of the Federal Reserve System would be barred from buying authority bonds. At present, however, they can purchase the obligations of individual districts. MacKenzie emphasized that the study committee had not on its own responsibility forecast any savings from the measure and concluded that "it is not improbable that the net result of the plan would be to increase the over-all cost of school financing to the taxpayers of the state."

State Revenues, Expenditures, Debt Rise in 1956

All state governments combined in 1956 took in 13.6 per cent more in general revenues, expended 9.8 per cent more for general purposes, and experienced an increase of 15.1 per cent in debt, all comparisons being with like aggregates for 1955. General revenue was up in each of the 48 states, general expenditure increased in 45 states, and the volume of debt outstanding was up in 34 states. These and summary figures are shown in a recent Bureau of the Census report, Summary of State Government Finances in 1956.1

Total state expenditure was \$21.7 billion, including approximately \$2.0 billion paid as benefits by unemployment compensation, employee retirement and other state insurance trust systems. It also includes \$845 million spent by liquor stores operated by sixteen states. The remaining total of "general expenditure" amounted to \$18.9 billion, up 9.8 per cent from 1955. Nearly all categories of state expenditure increased from 1955 to 1956, the Census report shows. Per capita amounts of all state expenditures aggregated \$133 in 1956; of this amount \$115 was for general expenditures with amounts for specific major functions as follows: education, \$34.75; highways, \$32.74; public welfare, \$16.35; health and hospitals, \$9.80; all other general purposes, \$21.73.

State revenue in 1956 aggregated \$22.2 billion. General revenue, excluding insurance trust and liquor store amounts, totaled \$18.4 billion, an increase of 13.6 per cent more than in 1955. State taxes provided nearly three-fourths of general revenues in 1956; 18 per cent was intergovernmental revenue, chiefly federal aid; and 9 per cent came from charges and miscellaneous nontax sources. State tax revenues approximated \$13.4 billion in 1956, up 15.3 per cent from 1955.

State payments to local governments amounted to \$6.5 billion, nearly three-tenths of total state expenditure. Capital outlay, mainly for contract construction of highways and buildings, was up 14.3 per cent to a record of \$4.6 billion. Insurance benefits and repayments totaled nearly \$2.0 billion, or 17.7 per cent less than in 1955. Wages and salaries of state employees totaled \$4.1 billion, up 8.9 per cent from the previous year.

State debt outstanding rose 15.1 per cent to a new high of \$12.9 billion at the end of the fiscal year. This rise resulted from total borrowings of \$2.1 billion against which debt redemption totaled only \$524 million.

¹ Washington 25, D.C., 1957, 21 pages.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Home Achievement Awards to Nine Cities

'Look' Presentations Are Based on Citizen Activity

NINE U.S. cities have been named winners of "Community Home Achievement Awards" for outstanding progress in improving and rehabilitating residential areas. The awards, given for the first time this year, are sponsored by Look Magazine.

Winners are Baltimore, Chicago, Indianapolis, Little Rock, Memphis, Norfolk, Rochester, Seattle and Shreveport.

Seven cities received honorable mention: Clarksville (Tennessee), Dallas, Dayton, Los Angeles, Perth Amboy (New Jersey), St. Louis and Washington Terrace (Ogden, Utah).

There were 61 entries in the competition to give recognition for outstanding citizen activity and accomplishment in improving homes and residential areas. The activities of this year's winners were described in *Look* for April 30, on the newsstands April 16.

In selecting the winners, the judges laid particular stress on the amount of citizen participation involved toward bettering living conditions, homes and neighborhoods in their communities.

Five cities named—Chicago, Memphis, Norfolk, Little Rock and Shreveport—are in the midst of operations to eliminate major slum areas and substandard housing which, in one case, had comprised up to 40 per cent of the city's dwelling units. All five have strengthened their housing codes, tightened code enforcement and developed master plans. Chicago has 35 community conservation groups working to check blight in "middle-aged" neighborhoods.

In Baltimore, residents of the Bolton

Hill area not only refurbished their own homes but formed a corporation to buy run-down properties in the district, restore them and then resell or rent them. Baltimore won an All-America City title in 1952 for its "Baltimore Plan" to eliminate slums. Shreveport, another present award winner, was also named an All-America City, in 1953, for a citizen-led survey of housing conditions of Negro residents.

In Seattle, improvement activity followed when neighbors of the Queen Anne Hill district formed a Civic Development Committee last spring and sparked 2,000 homeowners to rate the condition of their own homes in a questionnaire worked out with the help of University of Washington experts and Operation Home Improvement.

Awards are conferred on Indianapolis and Rochester for two unique projects supplementing the cities' good basic housing programs. In Indianapolis, Flanner House Homes, Inc.—a "sweat-equity" project supervised by two affiliated social agencies, Flanner House and the Board for Fundamental Education—enables a buyer to earn his mortgage down payment by helping to build his own house. The homes, valued at \$12,000 to \$14,000, are almost all owned by Negroes. They occupy land once covered by shacks.

Rochester citizens, in addition to other improvement activities, began expansion of Cobbs Hill Village, which provides modern, individual apartments for the aged at rentals of about \$48 a month. Like Flanner House Homes, Cobbs Hill Village is an independent, nonprofit organization which is coordinated with over-all city housing plans.

In all winning cities, citizen groups played an active part in solving housing problems, and cooperation of property owners was generally rated as excellent.

Albert M. Cole, administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, was chairman of the panel of experts which selected the winning cities. Other panelists were: Melvin H. Baker, vice president, U.S. Chamber of Commerce; Walter S. Dayton, chairman, Build America Better Committee, National Association of Real Estate Boards; John R. Doscher, former executive director, Operation Home Improvement; Walter Dreier, president, U.S. Savings and Loan League; Miss Muriel Ferris, executive secretary, League of Women Voters of the U.S.; James Lash, executive vice president, ACTION; Mrs. Grace Nicholas, executive director, General Federation of Women's Clubs; Edmund R. Purves, executive director, American Institute of Architects: Mort Saber, director, Urban Renewal Department, National Association of Home Builders; and Professor Coleman Woodbury, Yale University.

New Organizations

The Atlanta Voters Guild was organized in 1956 to cover Atlanta and Fulton County, Georgia. It is a nonpartisan, educational group limited to the study of local government. Through education it hopes to increase citizen participation in local affairs. Charter membership was limited to a hundred with provision for a gradual increase. Only those qualifying through a participating study program are admitted to active membership. The organization's program is carried on through television, radio and the distribution of literature. One issue of its Inquiring Voter describes candidates running in the recent election; another discusses bond issues.

The Council-Manager Boosters have been organized in Rock Island, Illinois, to campaign for councilmanic candidates favoring the council-manager plan, in operation since 1953.

Another new organization is the As-

sociation of Boulder (Colorado) Citizens, fashioned along the lines of the Colorado Springs Charter Association, which offers lively support to the council-manager plan. Its purposes are: "To encourage and support the candidacy of qualified individuals for public office; to support the council-manager plan; to promote honest, efficient, democratic local government, responsive to the will of the people; to develop an alert, informed and participating citizenry."

Municipal News, issued by the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, reports that two communities—Vancouver, British Columbia, and Anacortes, Washington, have made inquiries of the league as to ways and means of organizing local civic groups. The Seattle league has already been of assistance in the organization of such groups in Bellevue, Spokane, Everett, Port Angeles, all Washington, and Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Voters' Guides

In Minneapolis the Citizens League and the League of Women Voters will join hands this spring to provide local citizens with information on candidates and issues in the municipal primary and general elections. The information, when made available, will be published by the Minneapolis Tribune in its Voter's Guide. According to the Citizens League News Bulletin, the new arrangement aims at better service for the membership of both groups with less over-all effort and a reduction in the number of questionnaires which candidates must fill out.

The League of Women Voters of Minneapolis will continue its series of TV and radio interviews of candidates and distribution of election literature at key spots throughout the city. It will also provide instruction in the use of voting machines in certain wards.

The Detroit Citizens League continues its reports on candidates for local office.

The March-April issue of its Civic Searchlight is devoted to a report on candidates and special questions for the April 1 election.

Back Constitution Convention

The City Club of Chicago has given its endorsement to a proposal to call a state constitutional convention. In its report on the subject it points out that the constitution is 87 years old and that under its present amendment provisions the state is not able to revise the document to meet new conditions and new needs. "The state government is in a strait-jacket of constitutional restrictions," says the City Club Bulletin. . . . "The City Club finds the need for constitutional revision far beyond anything that can be accomplished by the slow process of amendment and endorses the proposal of Governor Stratton to submit the issue of the calling of a constitutional convention to the electors of the state at the next general election."

Code of Ethics

The Citizens Union of New York City has recently prepared a code of ethics for city councilmen. The proposed code was drafted, says Milton M. Bergerman, chairman of the union, "with a view to placing primary emphasis on the principle of disclosure." The code states that "A member [of the council] owes it to the public and to the council to make full disclosure of any private interests, activities or associations in any area in which the public interest is involved." Proposals for a code arose out of recent disclosures that one of the members of the city council was actively interested in legislation which would have been to the advantage of a business concern with which he was connected.

Charter Move

The Citizens' Association of Kansas City, Missouri, has joined hands with other organizations to secure a new charter for Jackson County. On February 26 members of its charter committee met with other groups to develop a plan of action for securing the necessary signatures of voters to a petition for a commission to draft such a charter. The Kansas City Citisen, publication of the association, reports that Republican and Democratic leaders, as well as leading civic groups, have announced they will support the campaign for a charter commission.

Self-Examination

"What do you think of the Municipal League?" queries the Municipal League of Seattle and King County in its Municipal News for February 23. The News carries a questionnaire which it asks members to fill out and return. Says the Public Relations Committee, "We hope to determine what areas of league activity need to be strengthened. Your opinions are vitally important! No sugar-coating, please—we're just as interested in complaints as compliments." Members do not need to identify themselves unless they wish to do so.

School Report

Compiled and edited by The League of Women Voters of Shaker Heights, Ohio, School in Shaker Heights (40 pages) has been distributed by the Shaker Savings Association. It is "the story behind our fine school system . . . its teachers, buildings and operations, its growth and future." The pamphlet is liberally sprinkled with interesting illustrations which are the work of elementary pupils.

Civic Education

Eighteen senior high school students of Escanaba, Michigan, lent great aid in the preparation of the city's 1955-1956 report. They collected the material, selected the pictures, made the charts and arranged the pages under the supervision of their governments teacher. A staff assistant to the city manager was co-

ordinator of the project. The result is a four-page newspaper supplement to the Escanaba *Daily Press* of February 27, 1957.

On February 20, Midland, Texas, officials turned over the operation of the city government for a day to high school students. More than 30 students participated in the event by filling the offices of mayor and councilmen as well as department and division heads. Voting machines were supplied by the county and set up in the high school where students nominated and elected their "city" officials previous to "High School Government Day."

Comic Books Get Awards

The Thomas Alva Edison Foundation presented for the second time its annual Comic Book Awards at a luncheon in New York City on April 1. Scrolls were presented to the publishers of the winning books and in addition scrolls and prizes of \$100 were awarded for the art work and writing of each winning comic.

Awards were as follows: For the best American history comic book, The Story of America, published by Classics Illustrated (Gilbertson Company); for the best comic book for children under eight, The Littlest Snowman, Dell Publishing Company; for the best comic book for children over eight, A Treasury of Dogs, Dell Publishing Company; for the best science comic book, Man in Space, Dell Publishing Company. A special citation was given to Classics Illustrated (Gilbertson Company) for The Ten Commandments.

The Comic Book Awards are part of of the annual Edison Foundation National Mass Media Awards, established in cooperation with 62 national organizations, including the National Municipal League, to encourage more wholesome influences for youth in the mass media and to interest boys and girls in science.

Billboard Battle

The Pennsylvania Roadside Council, with offices in Media, Pennsylvania, has taken up the challenge which the building of many new highways under the federal program presents. It seeks to help secure passage of legislation to prevent the spoiling of these highways by billboards and asks citizens to write their representatives regarding measures now before Congress.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 256)

- (4) Preparation of a monthly statement of the county's financial situation, including balances in each county department and unpaid obligations.
- (5) Development of a program for integration of services of a metropolitan nature, maintenance of close contact with officials of cities, villages and townships, assistance in coordinating activities of subdivisions and county commissioners, and promotion of cooperative action among subdivisions.

JACK JONES

Dayton Daily News

Strictly Personal

Bernard F. Hillenbrand, since 1955 assistant executive director of the American Municipal Association, has been appointed executive director of the National Association of County Officials. Keith L. Seegmiller, association secretary, who has served as its chief administrative officer since 1953, will continue with the association as legal counsel and liaison officer with the federal agencies in Washington, D.C.

Researcher's Digest

Edited by Thor Swanson

Papers on State Government Printed

Source Materials Prepared for Regional Conferences

FOLLOWING up the 1955 Eighth American Assembly on The Forty-Eight States: Their Tasks as Policy Makers and Administrators1 four state and regional conferences, co-sponsored by various local organizations and the American Assembly of Columbia University, were held in 1956. Generally their purpose was to examine "the capacity of state governments to perform responsibly, democratically, intelligently and efficiently." Roughly, a great crescent of border states, from Montana around the Pacific Coast, New Mexico and the South, were involved in the selfanalysis.

To provide background information, and to point out problem areas for consideration by the citizen leader participants, students in each particular state or region produced papers on subjects of major state concern. The background papers for the four conferences have now been published, as follows:

State Governments in the South: Functions and Problems. A research report prepared by L. Vaughan Howard and John H. Fenton for the use of participants and the Final Report of the First Southern Assembly of Tulane University in cooperation with the American Assembly of Columbia University, at Biloxi, Mississippi, April 19-22, 1956. New Orleans, Tulane University, 1956, 71 pages.

The States in the Pacific Northwest:

How Can Their Capacity for Responsible Self-Government Be Strengthened? Final report of the Pacific Northwest Assembly, held in cooperation with the American Assembly of Columbia University at Spokane, Washington, June 21-24, 1956. Seattle 1, Washington State Research Council, 1956, 55 pages.

The 47th State: An Appraisal of Its Government, by Charles B. Judah and Frederick C. Irion, prepared for the New Mexico Assembly on State Government, an activity sponsored by the American Assembly of Columbia University and the University of New Mexico. Held at Albuquerque, September 6-8, 1956. Albuquerque, Division of Government Research, University of New Mexico, 1956, 58 pages.

California State Government: Its Tasks and Organization. Background papers prepared for the use of participants in the California Conference on State Government. The California Assembly: Stanford University in cooperation with the American Assembly of Columbia University, September 13-16, 1956. Stanford, Stanford University, 1956, 65 pages.

These collections of background materials vary considerably in organization and presentation. The Northwest Assembly publication first presents a comparative paper on the four states of the region. This is followed by individual essays, separately authored, on the political conditions of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana. The authors of the background papers for the Southern Assembly present a generalized picture of the major functions and problems of the twelve southern states. Here alone among the four volumes public education is given special treatment.

For the two assemblies concerned with the problems of California and New

¹ See the Review, November 1955, page 504.

Mexico the relevant publications contain major essays centered on politics, law making and the state executive system. In addition, the California volume has a section devoted to the role of state government in the face of its continuing population increase and attendant problems of urbanization.

The knotty issues of finance are given especial attention in each collection excepting New Mexico's.

The problems presented by the authors of the papers are familiar and mostly recurrent. In addition to "where to get the money and how to manage it," questions regularly raised concern legislative reapportionment and organization, control by the governor over the executive establishment, intergovernmental relationships and the role of political parties. Quite different points of view of the utility of centralized party structure are reflected in the discussions of politics in New Mexico and California.

The findings and statements of agreement of each of the conferences (except for New Mexico) are found in the published background papers.²

County Coroner Diagnosed

The Office of the County Coroner in Kansas (December 1956, 49 pages) is a review of the condition of that medieval office in a midwest state by the Kansas Legislative Council.

It provides fresh evidence, based on returns from the coroners, that in most counties the office with its \$3.00 fee for each case (established in 1862) is in low esteem even by the coroners themselves.

No nominations for the office were filed by the political parties in 44 per cent of the counties in 1956 and a few write-in votes are enough to induct a physician or an undertaker for long service. In 1956 less than half the incumbents filed to succeed themselves. One-third of the present coroners began as appointees to fill vacancies. There is no central pathology service and only 14 per cent of the 9 per cent of all deaths which came to the coroners went to autopsy. Twenty of the 105 counties had no coroner cases in 1955.

R.S.C.

Two States Report on Legislative Assistance

The problems of getting enough of the right kinds of information to help state legislators in their work may be complicated by the large numbers of agencies involved in servicing legislative needs.

Two recent publications, Legislative Assistance, by Edward F. Staniford, (Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, February 1957, 74 pages, \$1.75) and The Legislative Branch and Assisting Services (Office of Research Analyst to the New Hampshire Legislative Council, Concord, April 1956, 51 pages) survey the variety of organizations available to help state legislators be more effective, particularly in the two states from which the reports emanate.

Both reports review the development of need for legislative services across the country and document how these needs have so far been accommodated. The more comprehensive California study notes that in addition to the continuing rapid increase in the number of permanent legislative research agencies after World War II, more than one-fourth of the states enacted measures coordinating legislative councils with legislative reference functions.

An inventory of California's legislative services include: (1) An elaborate and nearly unique system of interim committees, which constitute the basic fact-

² The findings of all the conferences have been published in the Review as they were released. See July 1956, page 340; September 1956, page 387; November 1956, page 496; January 1957, page 29.

finding agencies for the legislature; (2) several staff agencies, including the legislative counsel, legislative auditor and auditor general; (3) other legislative agencies such as the Law Revision Commission and Commission on Uniform State Law; and (4) a number of public and private groups, including the State Library, universities and colleges, legislative advocates and private consulting firms.

The New Hampshire study reports the following helps for its legislature: (1) General and Reference Division, State Library, (2) agency of General Court for bill drafting purposes, (3) Office of Legislative Budget Assistant, (4) Legislative Council, with Office of Research Analyst; and (5) a Post-Audit Division.

Both reports explore possibilities for more effective coordination to avoid duplication in research and to provide wider coverage of legislative problems. In the words of the California report, "such coordination may be achieved by establishing a unified agency to serve as a clearing house for legislative research with some or all of the following functions: (1) Determining the research needs of the legislature, (2) "farming out" legislative problems among staff agencies and other research organizations, (3) maintaining a staff for additional research services, (4) coordinating legislative research activities, and (5) preparing a program of legislation for consideration by the legislature. Fixing responsibility for legislative research in accountable leaders would greatly strengthen legislative leadership."

Lobby Regulation Studied in Texas

Requests by two investigating committees of the Texas legislature for a study of lobby laws over the nation, and for suggested lobbyist control legislation for Texas, have resulted in Lobby Regulation—A Report to the 55th Legislature (Austin, Texas Legislative Council, December 1956, 86 pages).

After accepting the principle that "group representation through the lobby has . . . become as much a part of the democratic process as the political party" and assuming that almost every segment of modern society has a representative looking after its legislative interests, it reviews the development of lobby regulation at the national and state levels.

The research staff brought the Council of State Governments state lobby law compilation up to date by contacting each jurisdiction concerning changes made since 1950.

The study generalizes that lobby legislation has passed successively through three general phases: "(1) bribery and conflict of interest statutes, (2) attempts to regulate improper lobbying practices, and (3) registration statutes."

The report recommends that the existing Texas law which makes lobbying a crime be discarded in favor of legislation which emphasizes the principle of registration and publicity as control techniques. A proposed draft of a lobby regulation bill is included in the publication

Licensing and Inspection System Analyzed

Philadelphia's 1951 home rule charter provided for a department of licenses and inspections which became responsible for the administration of "building, fire, plumbing, housing, zoning, sign and other ordinances which regulate the construction, care and occupancy of the city's 550,000 buildings." One hundred twenty different types of business, health and other licenses are issued by the agency. In 1954 the department issued approximately 475,000 licenses and permits

Of interest to students and practitioners of the administrative control process is a recently published comprehensive report of this experiment, Administrative Survey of the Philadelphia Department of Licenses and Inspections (two volumes) (Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research and Pennsylvania Economy League (Eastern Division), December 1956, 402 pages, \$10).

Description and analysis of the parts of the administrative whole are undertaken, and recommendations for improvement of the operations are suggested.

The report is basically sympathetic to this new departure in organization for administrative enforcement. As to accomplishments, it recognized that a working organization has been developed to perform functions hitherto scattered in many departments and agencies, that progress has been made in developing the concept of the "generalized inspector," that many license issuance procedures have been regularized, and that abuses such as bribes and gratuities have been substantially reduced.

The report emphasizes the need for further improvement. Specifically, hopes were expressed for internal reorganization of the department, an increased emphasis on working with and through community groups, procedures improvement, and a practical housing regulations enforcement plan.

Publish Criminal Justice Bibliography

Mrs. Dorothy Campbell Tompkins' bibliographical interest in criminal justice goes back at least to 1934, when her

first work on the subject was published. Her valuable bibliographies in 1939 and 1948 kept the subject up to date.

Now her Administration of Criminal Justice, 1949-1956: A Selected Bibliography (California State Board of Corrections and California Special Study Commission on Correctional Facilities and Services, November 1956, 360 pages) fills the gap between 1949 and the present. This comprehensive bibliography includes major sections on police administration, prosecution criminal offenses, treatment of offenders and a general category on administration of criminal justice. Explanatory notes and quotes precede many of the sections and subsections, and informational annotations are appended to obscure titles. The volume may be secured from the California Printing Division, Documents Section, Sacramento, at \$3.12.

St. Louis Survey Issues First Report

The St. Louis Metropolitan Survey has issued its first report, Background for Action (85 pages, \$1.00). This interim report provides a factual analysis of the population, economy and pattern of local government in the area. It summarizes the nature and cost of the services provided by the 149 local governmental units operating in the city-county area. The survey's recommendations for solutions to the area's problems will be made in its final report due in July.

W.N.C., JR.

Books in Review

Metropolitan Transit

THE METROPOLITAN TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM. By Wilfred Owen. Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1956. x, 301 pp. Illus. \$4.50.

This book, already widely quoted, should be widely read. It is a significant roundup of both facts and ideas about the daily movement of people in metropolitan areas. Its nine chapters cover trends, improvement efforts, the role of public and private transportation, financing, organizing and transportation demand in relation to community planning. They do not, however, encompass the transportation of goods.

Important as this information is, the primary attraction of the book to me is the unusual willingness of the author to take sides. He advocates a course of action to meet the metropolitan transportation problem.

Key points in Owen's line of reasoning are:

 The underlying causes of congestion are multiplying more rapidly than measures for relief can be applied.

There is a fundamental conflict between the interest of the carriers in economic survival and the interest of the community in adequate service.

 Public carriers will continue to be an essential part of the transportation system in large metropolitan areas. Their principal task is to absorb home-to-work travel peaks.

 Improved bus transportation offers the greatest potential for public transportation from both an operation and economic standpoint.

5. The inflexibility of rail operations indicates that rail rapid transit and rail-road commutation will be limited for the most part to facilities now in use. Their modernization will be necessary but extensive additions to the present plant do not appear feasible.

6. Only a total network of controlled

access expressways and parking facilities can provide a skeleton that will support the giant metropolis of the future.

Advance highway right-of-way acquisition is a must.

8. The accomplishment of a self-supporting urban transportation system is well within the bounds of feasibility. Three steps are necessary: (1) Urban areas should be granted a fair share of state-collected highway user revenues; (2) A more scientific pricing of transportation services is called for to maximize revenues and to achieve the most effective use of facilities; (3) The pooling of transportation revenues suggests a promising means of supporting high standards of service for the transportation system as a whole.

The need for organizing all available transportation facilities and for financing them and operating them as a system is becoming increasingly apparent as we review the methods of supplying transport services today.

10. Congestion in the rush hours is inevitable as long as we insist on living in the suburbs, working downtown and starting off at the same time to get to the same place. We will have to avoid unmanageable transportation demand through the dispersal of population and economic activity, the preservation of open spaces and the planning of land use densities and arrangements.

11. An effective solution to the urban transportation problem, then, should meet three tests: (1) It should be functionally comprehensive by including all forms of transportation; (2) It should be comprehensive geographically by including not only the city but also the metropolitan area and all the affected region; (3) It should be comprehensive from a planning standpoint by assuring that transportation is used to promote community goals and that community plans make satisfactory transportation possible.

The sweep of Owen's generalizations is both daring and comprehensive. They will be criticized mainly, I think, as being over-simplified. My own reservation about the book (but not the importance of reading it) is not that it is too bold but, on the contrary, that it stops one step short of the goal.

The goal is to solve the metropolitan transportation problem. The major proposition is that transportation planning and land development planning must be completely coordinated. The inescapable final step must be a recognition of the need to integrate both phases of planning at the decision-making level.

Yet Owen hangs back. He wants all the transportation functions collected in a single metropolitan agency, but he deprecates the idea of an even more inclusive metropolitan agency with the power to perform that final act of integration between transportation and land usage which he so ardently desires.

But then, the momentum of Owen's logic carries the essential point, even though he fails to state it clearly. The Metropolitan Transportation Problem is an important book.

HENRY FAGIN, Planning Director Regional Plan Association

Political Parties

POLITICAL PARTY PATTERNS IN MICHIGAN. By Stephen B. and Vera H. Sarasohn. Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1957. x, 76 pp. \$1.75.

This covers very competently the somewhat bewildering movement of state party politics and forces in Michigan from the beginning of the century down through 1956 with its various changing leaderships. It shows the state's drift from strong Republican domination to a present split described as a Republican party largely dominated by the great automobile manufacturers and a Democratic party dominated in its primaries and conventions by organized labor, par-

ticularly the CIO. The latter uses its reservoir of union personnel to run, under direction, for county convention delegateships and other internal party positions.

This economic cleavage and organization may not be unique among the states and it would be interesting to know if there are parallel conditions in metropolitan areas or statewide affairs elsewhere on such clear economic lines.

The difference between Republican and Democratic principles and platforms is not easy to find in most of the states, nor is it very clear on a national basis these days. The condition of Michigan's politics, if correctly analyzed, may be prophetic and deserving of wider study throughout the country as a possible drift toward a more meaningful cleavage.

THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES. By William Goodman. Princeton, New Jersey, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1956, xii, 649 pp. \$6.00.

This is an important newcomer in the list of texts on political parties. As its size suggests, it is exhaustive and heavily documented. It neglects history to picture our two national parties as they are today with their bulky machinery, their clumsy procedures and the realities of power. All sides of issues are conscientiously, and sometimes laboriously, quoted. The final chapters deal inconclusively with current proposals of reform including the report of the American Political Science Association's committee of 1950 Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System.

Central Business Districts

THE CORE OF THE CITY: A Pilot Study of Changing Land Uses in Central Business Districts. By John Rannells. New York, Columbia University Press, 1956. xxix, 237 pp. \$5.50.

A method of examining the center or

core of the city of Philadelphia, and detecting the changing patterns of land use and business interrelationships within that core, is the work of John Rannells The Core of the City. the example of one part of one city, the method evolved may be extended to other areas and other cities. A grid pattern of analysis is the key to the method devised with the "standard block" in Philadelphia as the primary unit. Regular or irregular block measurement, both horizontal and vertical, provide a graphic portrayal and visual inspection of the heart of a city. The author's method permits careful analysis of earlier development of where the city core seems to be tending. Needless to say a study of this type raises more questions than it answers, even though several significant conclusions do emerge.

The study suggests that: (1) the physical core of the city continues to exist and is slow to change because of original advantages of site and earlier structural development. Significant changes tend to involve the use to which structures are put and this type of change when it occurs may be a very rapid one in point of time; (2) smaller enterprises require centralized physical locations in close proximity to others with which they deal and adjacent facilities for the transportation of people and materials. It is the core of the city that most often provides this type of location and only as growth permits the separation of business functions, both internal and in dealing with others, does physical decentralization take place. And with the departure of the larger enterprises, new businesses stand ready to rush in and take over vacated space, often at lower rentals, and the cycle of growth begins anew; and (3) the clustering or banding together that occurs within the core of the central city often reflects the dominant influence of certain activities, for example, a stock exchange, pier facilities, an insurance district or a

governmental or civic center. Related or linked businesses tend to cluster about these centers within the core and should the principal business or service agency move to another location a new clustering soon develops there.

Today's newspapers and magazines provide continuing evidence that all is not well with the central cores of our great cities, that the traffic bottlenecks, air pollution menace and the greater need for public transit and parking facilities, etc., are all present either directly or indirectly to plague us. To diagnose the role and problem of the core of the city it must be possible to first examine it and the author provides a means for such an undertaking. This is a technical volume and it provides no final answers -but in the ferment of this decade of the "urban region" a helping hand is always welcome and this volume fills that requirement. ALVIN K. PETERJOHN

Institute of Public Administration

Governmental Secrecy

Freedom or Secrecy. By James Russell Wiggins. New York, Oxford University Press, 1956. xi, 242 pp. \$4.00.

This volume, circulated by the Fund for the Republic, lists an alarming accumulation of practices in the federal and local governments to withhold from the public information on governmental activities on a great variety of excuses, few of which are sound. It goes back into history sufficiently to show that the publicity we have of legislative proceedings at all levels, including the municipal level, where the Model City Charter is quoted, was not always available and represents considerable progress since the early days of the Republic.

The author has been associated with the Freedom of Information Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, which has been hammering at closed doors and classified files for some years.

R.S.C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Assessors

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST ANNUAL SCHOOL FOR MASSACHUSETTS ASSESSORS. Amherst, University of Massachusetts, Bureau of Government Research, 1957. 60 pp.

Budgeting

BUDGETING WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CAPITAL BUDGETING. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, December 1956. 4 pp. 50 cents.

Business Districts

CIRCULATION SYSTEM. Part One of the Central Business District Plan. Cincinnati, City Planning Commission, 1957. 21 pp.

Civic Centers

CIVIC CENTERS. List of References to Material in Municipal Reference Library of Seattle. Seattle 4, Municipal Reference Library, 1956. 12 pp. (Limited Supply.)

Civil Service

THE CIVIL SERVICE. Some Human Aspects. By Frank Dunnill. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1956. 226 pp. \$4.25. (Apply The Macmillan Company, New York.)

Community Facilities

COMMUNITY FACILITIES. A List of Selected References. Washington 6, D.C., National Association of Home Builders, 1956. 144 pp.

Council-Manager Plan

RECENT COUNCIL-MANAGER DEVELOP-MENTS AND DIRECTORY OF COUNCIL-MANAGER CITIES. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1957. 35 pp. \$1.00.

Economics

THE GAPS IN OUR PROSPERITY. And Needed Changes in National Economic Policies to Achieve Full Prosperity for All. Washington 6, D.C., Conference on Economic Progress, 1956. 99 pp. 50 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Education

HIGHER EDUCATION IN WISCONSIN. By Caryl A. Regan. Madison 3, League of Women Voters of Wisconsin, 1956. 60 pp. \$1.00.

Federal Government

ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES. Report of the Committee on Government Operations. Washington 25, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, 1957. 72 pp., chart. 25 cents.

Fluoridation

HEALTH AND LEGAL ASPECTS. Supplement to Fluoridation of Public Water Supplies. Annotated References. Detroit 26, Municipal Reference Library, 1956. 8 pp.

OUR CHILDREN'S TEETH. A Digest of Expert Opinion Based on Studies of the Use of Fluorides in Public Water Supplies. New York 10, Committee to Protect Our Children's Teeth, 1957. 110 pp. \$1.00.

Housing

1956 HOUSING LEGISLATION IN NEW YORK STATE. A Summary Prepared by the Committee on Housing. New York 10, Community Service Society, 1956. 126 pp. 50 cents.

TOWARD GOOD HOUSING FOR THE AGING. Selected Articles from the Journal of Housing. Chicago 37, National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, 1956. 40 pp. \$1.00.

Industrial Location

FACTORS AFFECTING INDUSTRIAL LOCA-TION. A Bibliography. Selected References Relating to Taxes and Other Factors Affecting the Choice of Location by Industry. New York, Tax Foundation, 1956. 8 pp.

International Affairs

THE UNITED STATES AND THE FAR EAST. Final Edition. Background Papers Prepared for the Use of Participants and the Final Report of the Tenth American Assembly, Harriman, New York, November 15-18, 1956. New York 27, Columbia University, the American Assembly, 1956. 243 pp.

Judiciary

THE INSTRUMENTALITIES OF JUSTICE: THEIR FORMS, FUNCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS. By Francis R. Aumann. Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1956. ix, 137 pp.

SELECTION OF JUDGES IN KANSAS. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, Your Government, March 15, 1957. 3 pp.

Management

THE CASE METHOD. A Technique of Management Development. Washington 15, D.C., Society for Personnel Administration, 1957. 34 pp. 75 cents.

Metropolitan Areas

EXPANDING THE ROLE OF THE URBAN COUNTY: THE LOS ANGELES EXPERI-MENT. By Winston W. Crouch; METRO-POLITAN SPECIAL DISTRICTS: THE BOSTON METROPOLITAN DISTRICT COMMISSION. By Charles R. Cherington; METROPOLI-TAN FEDERATION: TORONTO'S EXPERI-MENT. By Frederick G. Gardiner; THE ROLE OF THE STATES IN THE SOLUTION OF METROPOLITAN AREA PROBLEMS. By Luther Gulick. Addresses before the Conference on Government of Metropolitan Areas, Philadelphia, February 7-8, 1957. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Institute of Local and State Government, 1957. Variously paged.

METROPOLITAN REGIONALISM: DEVEL-OPING GOVERNMENTAL CONCEPTS. A Symposium. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania Law School, Law Review, February 1957. 184 pp. \$1.25.

Milk Inspection

MILK INSPECTION IN KANSAS. With Special Reference to the Inspection of Farms and Plants and City Fee Charges Levied on the Production, Processing and Distribution of Fluid Milk for Human Consumption. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, 1956. 33 pp.

Pension Funds

INVESTMENT REQUIREMENTS OF STATE AND LOCAL PENSION FUNDS. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, January 16, 1957. 7 pp. 50 cents.

Planning

EDUCATION OF CITY PLANNERS: PAST AND PRESENT. By Harvey S. Perloff. Cambridge 38, Massachusetts, Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Fall 1956. 31 pp.

Recreation

Berkeley Municipal Recreation. Berkeley, California, League of Women Voters of Berkeley, December 1956. 24 pp. Tables.

Rent Control

PEOPLE, HOUSING AND RENT CONTROL IN SYRACUSE. Albany, New York Temporary State Housing Rent Commission, 1956. xii, 117 pp.

Retirement Systems

COMPARISON OF PENSION PROVISIONS FOR MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES IN 10 CITIES OF OVER 750,000 POPULATION. Report to the President of the City Council. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research and Pennsylvania Economy League, 1956. 26 pp.

PUBLIC EMPLOYEE RETIREMENT PLANS IN SOUTH DAKOTA. By William H. Cape. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau, 1956. vii, 124 pp.

Taxation and Finance

GUIDELINES FOR LONG-RANGE PROJEC-TION OF STATE FINANCES. New York 20, Tax Foundation, 1957. 16 pp. LEGISLATIVE MANUAL AND FISCAL FACTS FOR THE SEVENTIETH GENERAL ASSEMBLY 1957. Springfield, Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, 1957. 35 pp.

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STATE TAXES IN INDIANA. POSSIBLE ADJUSTMENTS IN THE INDIANA TAX STRUCTURE. Second Report of the (Indiana) Commission on State Tax and Financing Policy. Indianapolis, the Commission, 1956. 64 pp.

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How Bypasses Affect Business. Washington 6, D.C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, n.d. 24 pp.

Training for Public Service

INTERNSHIP PROGRAMS IN STATES, CITIES AND COUNTIES. A Survey. New York 16, National Civil Service League, 1956. 19 pp.

Urban Redevelopment

ABC's OF URBAN RENEWAL. Chicago, Sears, Roebuck and Company, Urban Renewal Division, 1957. 24 pp. Illus.

Vice President

THE RISE OF THE VICE PRESIDENCY. By Irving G. Williams. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1956. x, 266 pp. \$4.50.

Water

GROUND AND SURFACE WATER. Lincoln 9, Nebraska Legislative Council, 1956. 44 pp.

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THE KANSAS BASIN. Pilot Study of a Watershed. Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1956. ix, 103 pp. Map, Charts. \$3.00.

Woodrow Wilson

WOODROW WILSON' AND THE PRESI-DENCY. By Edward S. Corwin. Charlottesville, University of Virginia, Virginia Law Review, October 1956. 23 pp.

Workmen's Compensation

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAW IN ALASKA. Juneau, Alaska Legislative Council, 1956. 101 pp.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 257)

Robert Briscoe, Lord Mayor of Dublin and a recent visitor to New York, led eleven opponents contesting five seats in a Dublin constituency.

De Valera's Clare County constituency gave him the largest number of first choices received by any of the 288 candidates who contested the election. The results of the election are summarized in the accompanying table.

1957 All-America Contest Opens

The All-America Cities contest for 1957 was officially opened in April.

Citizen leaders, chambers of commerce and other civic organizations had already nominated approximately 30 communities for what newspapers sometimes describe as "the most coveted" honor before the competition was announced.

This is the sixth consecutive year the contest has been co-sponsored by the National Municipal League and Look Magazine.

Citizens, public officials or civic groups may nominate their own or other cities simply by writing a brief letter to the National Municipal League describing the activities and accomplishments on which the nomination is based. Letters should be mailed by August 15 in order to allow time to receive and fill out the official entry blank which will be sent when the facts indicate a city is eligible. These entry blanks must be in the League office by September 1.

Nominations will be studied and in-

vestigated by League staff and by a well qualified screening committee which selects 22 finalists to be invited to send spokesmen to address the All-America Cities jury which will meet for two days during the League's National Conference on Government at the Hotel Carter in Cleveland, November 17-20.

The eleven winning communities chosen by the jury will be announced by Look and by the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. Each city receives a plaque and an All-America City flag.

The awards are conferred on the basis of progress achieved through effective citizen action, not necessarily for good government or physical beautification. Winners in previous years have based their entries on improved government or schools, the elimination of blight, economic rehabilitation and other accomplishments.

George H. Gallup, past president of the League and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, will serve again this year as foreman of the jury of distinguished Americans.

Planning the 1957 All-America Cities contest in the Osborn Room of the Carl H. Pforzheimer Building are, left to right: Allen H. Seed, Jr., and Thor Swanson, of NML staff; Jane Douglas, Daniel D. Mich, editorial director, Vernon L. Myers, publisher, and Doris Doland, manager, public relations, all of LOOK Magazine; and William N. Cassella, Jr., of NML staff.



Brazil Holds 'Cities Progress' Contest

The Brazilian "Cities of Major Progress" contest, quick to catch on in its first year, has just completed its second. The contest was originated by Gerald N. Hardy, director of field service for the Tax Foundation, while a municipal consultant in Brazil with the U.S. Operations Mission (Point Four). It is patterned after the National Municipal League-Look All-America Cities contest.

Each year, ten cities are selected as "finalists," of which five are given Diplomas de Honra and the other five honorable mention awards. The contest is co-sponsored by the O Cruzeiro magazine, leading news-picture weekly, and the Brazilian Institute for Municipal Administration, a new organization of municipal officials modeled after the International City Managers' Association.

Diplomas were awarded again this year in Catete Palace, Brazil's White House, by President Juscelino Kubitschek.

As here in the United States the contest has captured the imagination of the citizens of the winning communities and several cities held local celebrations to commemorate their victories. One 1955 winner, Araras, a fast-growing small city in the coffee-growing area of the state of Sao Paulo, built a monument in its town plaza which contains a bronze facsimile of its award. Incidentally, this city is continuing its progress and entered the contest again this year, giving the judges a real problem. It was solved by the creation of a special award, which Araras won hands down.

National publicity was one of the features of the success of the contest in its first year. In addition to coverage by the co-sponsoring O Cruzeiro magazine, the contest received newsreel, television and syndicated newspaper publicity. This year, this publicity has been expanded, with O Cruzeiro, now definitely sold on the public service value of its participation, devoting eleven double-page spreads to a series of picture stories on each of the winning cities. Favorable publicity is attracting more entrants and stimulating municipal progress which might not otherwise have been accomplished, which, of course, is the dream of the contest's originators.

Cities are judged in Rio de Janeiro by a commission composed of municipal and educational leaders in a manner similar to the conduct of the U.S. contest. An extra feature of the Brazilian contest is a field visit to each of the ten finalist cities, made by a small team of representatives of the sponsoring agencies. The principal purpose is to invite the mayors and councilmen of the finalist cities to appear in Rio de Janeiro to defend their entries. The magazine representative, a reporter-photographer, takes pictures during the trip for use later in the feature stories.

The field visit team this year included Dr. Elwyn A. Mauck, formerly editor of the County and Township section of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, now chief of the Public Administration Division of the U.S. Operations Mission to Brazil, Point Four technical assistance group. Dr. Mauck is also an ex-officio member of the judging committee by virtue of his having been on the first All-America Cities jury in Minneapolis in 1949.

WANTED

National Municipal Review for January 1950 and January and February 1956

An unprecedented demand has exhausted copies of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for the months listed above. The League will be glad to pay 25 cents per copy for the return of these issues.

National Municipal Review

Carl H. Pforsheimer Building

47 East 68th Street

New York 21, N. Y.

The 48 Direct Primary Systems

A comparative analysis of the direct primary systems of 48 states, state by state, the first comprehensive review of such data in 30 years.

Compiled by the League of Women Voters of New York for its own purposes in 1951, now revised to include later published changes in state laws to November 1956.

Loose-leaf mimeo, 50 pages - \$2.00.

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Tools for Achieving Better Government

Citizen groups often turn to the League for help in achieving better government in their locality. Listed below are some of the tools available to them:

Campaign Pamphlets	
Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 36 pages (1955)	
(17½ x 22½"), 50 cents each, set of three	1.00
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950)	
20 pages (1955)	
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954)	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1952)	
P. R., [Proportional Representation], 12 pages (1955)	
The Citizen Association—How to Organize and Run It, 64 pages (1953) The Citizen Association—How to Win Civic Campaigns, 64 pages	.75
(1953) (The two pamphlets above may be purchased together for \$1.20)	.75
Model Laws	
Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946)	70
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948)	75
Model City Charter 173 pages (1941)	1.50
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953)	1.00
Model County Charter, 112 pages (1956)	1.50
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951)	1.00
Model Investment of State Funds Law, 23 pages (1954)	1.00
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 40 pages (1954)	1.00
Model State and Regional Planning Law (1955)	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 32 pages (1953)	.75
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948) Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1954)	1.00
Model Voter Registration System, 56 pages (1957)	1.00
Other Pamphlets and Books	
American County-Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946)	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954)	.15
Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952)	3.50
Coroners in 1953—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices,	
90 pages, mimeographed (1955)	2.00
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1955)	
Guide to Community Action, by Mark S. Matthews, 448 pages (1954)	4.00
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1954)	.50
The Metropolitan Problem—Current Research, Opinion, Action, by Guthrie S. Birkhead (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL RE-	
VIEW), 12 pages (1953)	.25
New Look at Home Rule, by Benjamin Baker etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1935)	.50
Proportional Representation-Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951)	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett,	.25
Save Our Cities, by Joseph E. McLean etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1954)	
Discount on Quantity Orders - Write for Complete List and Description.	

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